

1           MR. ROBBINS: Ah, ah, ah, ah, ah.

2           MS. YOVANOVITCH: Okay. Sorry.

3           THE CHAIRMAN: Any -- anything --

4           MR. ROBBINS: That's only one time an hour that I wake  
5 up.

6           THE CHAIRMAN: Any time a witness --

7           MR. ROBBINS: That's the moment.

8           MR. MEADOWS: Let the record reflect there was one time  
9 you woke up for the other side.

10          THE CHAIRMAN: I'll yield back to Mr. Mitchell.

11           BY MR. MITCHELL:

12          Q      Without divulging any communications that you may  
13 have had with your attorney --

14          A      Okay. Yeah.

15          Q      -- have you had any disagreements with the  
16 Department of State about any production of documents  
17 concerning you?

18          A      No.

19          Q      All right.

20          A      But I should also say, I haven't had --

21          MR. ROBBINS: Ah.

22          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Okay. All right.

23          MR. MITCHELL: Were you about to say that you have not  
24 had any conversations with the Department of State about  
25 these matters?

1                   MR. ROBBINS: Her lawyers have done all the talking.

2                   BY MR. MITCHELL:

3                   Q     I believe you said that -- I believe you used the  
4     word "bullying." Is that right?

5                   A     Yes.

6                   Q     What did you mean by that?

7                   A     Well, it wasn't my word. It's what -- it's what  
8     Mike said.

9                   Q     And in the context of the way in which Mr. McKinley  
10    used the word "bullying," what was your understanding of that  
11    term?

12                  A     My understanding was that in this dispute,  
13    whatever it was between L, the legal people and Mr. Kent,  
14    that the lawyers bullied George. That was my understanding,  
15    but he didn't go into the details and I don't know what form  
16    that would have taken.

17                  Q     All right. Did Mr. McKinley mention any other  
18    individuals from the Department of State who may have been  
19    involved in this dispute regarding the production of  
20    documents?

21                  A     I can't recall whether he named anybody.

22                  Q     Do you recall whether Mr. McKinley mentioned  
23    Secretary Pompeo during the course of this call?

24                  A     Not -- not that I recall. I mean, no, I don't  
25    think he did.

1           Q     And you said that Mr. McKinley said that the  
2     Department is not supporting the employees. What did you  
3     understand that to mean?

4           A     Well, I think, you know, as we had discussed  
5     earlier, that there are all sorts of attacks and allegations  
6     out there, and the Department is not saying anything about  
7     it. That's very unusual if, in fact, there is no cause for  
8     my removal.

9           MR. MITCHELL: I think my time is up.

10          THE CHAIRMAN: And just to let Members know, we are  
11         going to turn the air back on. It's feast or famine here,  
12         and we're -- my staff tells me it started to smell like a  
13         locker room in here.

14          So we'll turn it over to the minority and we'll turn the  
15         air back on.

16          Mr. CASTOR: Mr. Jordan.

17          MR. JORDAN: Ambassador, last hour with Mr. Mitchell,  
18         you mentioned -- you were talking some about your  
19         conversation with George Kent.

20          What's George Kent's title again at the State  
21         Department?

22          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in  
23         the European Bureau.

24          MR. JORDAN: Okay. And you'd dealt with him before?

25          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yes.

1                   MR. JORDAN. Okay. And you officially left your duties  
2       in the Ukraine?

3                   MS. YOVANOVITCH: May 20th.

4                   MR. JORDAN. May 20th. And then when were you hired at  
5       Georgetown for the teaching position?

6                   MS. YOVANOVITCH: I took home leave, and I started on I  
7       think it was July 25th.

8                   MR. JORDAN. July 25th. Okay. And Mr. -- yeah. That's  
9       interesting.

10                  MS. YOVANOVITCH: I hadn't actually made that  
11      connection.

12                  MR. JORDAN. Mr. Mitchell said you talked to Mr. Kent  
13      about the call that President Trump had with President  
14      Zelensky. Is that right?

15                  MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yes, uh-huh.

16                  MR. JORDAN. And can you give me the date of that  
17      conversation you had?

18                  MS. YOVANOVITCH: No. I mean, some time after that.

19                  MR. JORDAN. Some time after what?

20                  MS. YOVANOVITCH: After the call.

21                  MR. JORDAN: Okay. And some time before September 25th?

22                  MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yes.

23                  MR. JORDAN: Was it in September? Was it in August?  
24       Was it in July?

25                  MS. YOVANOVITCH: I don't recall exactly, but it was

1           probably some -- well, it might even have been in September.

2           I would say probably August, but I also know that they  
3         were on vacation, so maybe it was even in September.

4           MR. JORDAN. So you got a readout of what transpired --  
5         you were not on the call.

6           MS. YOVANOVITCH: No.

7           MR. JORDAN. Right? Mr. Kent was not on the call?

8           MS. YOVANOVITCH: No.

9           MR. JORDAN. But you got a readout from what happened on  
10       the call prior to any of us in the public knowing about the  
11       contents of the call between President Trump and President  
12       Zelensky?

13          MS. YOVANOVITCH: I think readout is a, you know, a big  
14       term.

15          MR. JORDAN. And you --

16          MS. YOVANOVITCH: He shared with me some -- some  
17       information about it.

18          MR. JORDAN. And you think that was in August or early  
19       September?

20          MS. YOVANOVITCH: [Nonverbal response.]

21          MR. JORDAN. So weeks before the -- September 25th, the  
22       date the rest of us got to see what was in that --

23          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Right.

24          MR. JORDAN: -- and got the transcript and it was  
25       public. So you got that information weeks before?

1 MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yes.

2 MR. JORDAN. Why did you get that information? Did you  
3 have any other responsibilities with -- continuing  
4 responsibilities with Ukraine and your former position there?

5 MS. YOVANOVITCH: No.

6 MR. JORDAN: Why would Mr. Kent share that with you?

7 MS. YOVANOVITCH: I think he knows that I still care  
8 about the bilateral relationship and I'm still interested.

9 MR. JORDAN. Is that normal?

10 MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yeah. I mean, I think that -- that  
11 there are conversations about, you know, all sorts of things  
12 that take place.

13 MR. JORDAN. I guess what I'm asking is you got a call  
14 between two heads of state. You have certain staff, I assume  
15 NSC staff, some State Department staff, potentially Justice  
16 Department, I don't know who's all on that call, but it's  
17 probably not something that should be shared and probably not  
18 common knowledge. And yet the Deputy Assistant Secretary of  
19 State shares it with someone who is no longer involved with  
20 Ukraine, who's teaching a course at Georgetown. And I'm just  
21 wondering, is that -- has that ever happened before, to your  
22 knowledge?

23 MS. YOVANOVITCH: I'm sure it has.

24 MR. JORDAN. Really?

25 MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yeah.

1                   MR. JORDAN. People would just share the contents of two  
2 heads of states, the President of the United States' call  
3 with someone who's not working in that particular area?

4                   MS. YOVANOVITCH: I -- I mean, you're asking me my  
5 opinion.

6                   MR. JORDAN. Okay.

7                   MS. YOVANOVITCH: So I'm sharing my opinion that I'm  
8 sure something like that has happened before.

9                   MR. JORDAN: Did anyone else talk to you about the  
10 contents of the call between President Trump and President  
11 Zelensky prior to September 25th when it was made public?

12                  MS. YOVANOVITCH: No.

13                  MR. JORDAN. Did Mr. Kent say that he had shared this  
14 information with anyone else prior to when the rest of the  
15 country got to see it?

16                  MS. YOVANOVITCH: No. I mean, I don't think he said  
17 that.

18                  MR. JORDAN. Okay.

19                  MR. CASTOR: Have you talked to anybody else about your  
20 testimony?

21                  MR. ROBBINS: I'm sorry. Could I hear that question  
22 again?

23                  MR. CASTOR: Have you talked to anybody else at the  
24 State Department since you've been invited to testify about  
25 some of the facts here?

1 MS. YOVANOVITCH: No. But I was subpoenaed to testify.

2 MR. JORDAN. Hey, Steve, just give me one second. Just  
3 a quick follow. I apologize, Steve.

4 That call is classified? The call between President  
5 Trump and President Zelensky, do you know if it was  
6 unclassified at the time that he shared information about the  
7 contents of the call?

8 MS. YOVANOVITCH: I don't know.

9 MR. JORDAN: Okay.

10 BY MR. CASTOR:

11 Q Other than with your lawyer, who have you had  
12 discussions with about your testimony today?

13 A My brother. My brother has come up --

14 Q And your family members. I'm sorry. I don't want  
15 to ask you about discussions with your family.

16 A Yes. I have not discussed my testimony with  
17 anybody.

18 Q Okay. So since you've been invited to testify, or  
19 subpoenaed -- initially it was a voluntary invite and then it  
20 turned into a subpoena -- you haven't had any discussions  
21 with the key players?

22 A No.

23 MR. CASTOR: I want to mark as exhibit -- are we up to  
24 4?

25 MR. GOLDMAN: Yes.

1           MR. CASTOR: And we don't need to do majority, minority?  
2       We just call it No. 4?

3           MR. GOLDMAN: We're all friends.

4           MR. ROBBINS: Sorry. Could we have just one moment?

5           Mr. CASTOR: Sure.

6           [Discussion off the record.]

7                           [Majority Exhibit No. 4

8                           was marked for identification.]

9           MR. ROBBINS: I have a -- for minority counsel.

10          MR. CASTOR: Sure.

11          MR. ROBBINS: The witness would like to expand on a  
12       prior answer --

13          Mr. CASTOR: Of course.

14          MR. ROBBINS: -- that she gave a moment ago.

15          Mr. CASTOR: Please, please. At any time, feel free to  
16       do that. There's nothing wrong with --

17          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Thank you.

18          So you had asked me about discussions with State  
19       Department lawyers, and I answered that I wasn't having any  
20       conversations with State Department lawyers.

21          But I've been reminded that in August one of the  
22       staffers reached out to me on my personal email, and I  
23       alerted the State Department about that, the request to, you  
24       know, come and talk to the committee.

25          And so subsequently, and I think it was the week before

1        Labor Day, I had a telephone conversation with Cliff Johnson,  
2        [REDACTED] from the State Department Legal Affairs office, as  
3        well as [REDACTED] from the Legislative office.

4           So just to be sure that I'm absolutely factual.

5                   BY MR. CASTOR:

6           Q      We've marked Exhibit 4. This is a letter. I'll  
7        give it to you first.

8           A      Thank you.

9           Q      This is the letter we are referring to in the last  
10       round with Mr. Zeldin. I'll ask some questions and then I'll  
11       ask Mr. Zeldin if he has any additional.

12          This is the letter to Lutsenko from Senators Menendez,  
13       Durbin, and Leahy, dated May 4th, 2018?

14          A      Yes.

15          Q      Do you need a little bit of time to look at it  
16       or -- are you familiar with this letter? Is this the first  
17       time you've seen it?

18          A      I don't think I've seen it before.

19          Q      But this was during your tenure as the ambassador?

20          A      Yes. Yeah, but Congress doesn't always and doesn't  
21       have to share correspondence with foreign governments with  
22       us.

23          Q      Of course. I'm just asking if you've seen it or if  
24       you know of anybody at the embassy that was aware of this  
25       issue.

1           A     I -- you know, I just don't recall ever having seen  
2     this before.

3           Q     When senators, especially senators involved with  
4     the committees of jurisdiction, transmit letters, is that  
5     ordinarily something that gets called to the embassy's  
6     attention?

7           A     It just depends.

8           Q     Or does it happen so frequently that it's not  
9     necessarily an issue?

10          A     I would say it just depends.

11          Q     Okay. And so you had no advance notice this letter  
12     was coming? Nobody at the -- on any of the Senate staffs  
13     communicated with the embassy, to your knowledge?

14          A     I don't believe so.

15          Q     And do you know if anybody at Lutsenko's office  
16     communicated with the embassy that they received this letter?  
17     Do you know how they handled this letter?

18          A     I don't know that Mr. Lutsenko or anybody in his  
19     office communicated with us about this, and I don't know  
20     whether they responded, or any of that.

21          Q     Is there anything else about this communication,  
22     about this set of facts, that you can share with us that you  
23     do remember, whether it was at the time or subsequently?

24          A     I mean, do you want to ask me a more specific  
25     question?

1           Q     I'm just asking if --

2           A     Yeah.

3           Q     -- if you can recall anything else about this  
4     letter, three senators, I believe they're all on the Foreign  
5     Relations Committee, writing to express great concern about  
6     reports that Lutsenko's office has taken steps to impede  
7     cooperation with the Mueller probe.

8           A     Uh-huh. Yeah.

9           Q     So the question is, can you recall any additional  
10    set of facts about this particular letter?

11          A     No. No, I can't.

12          Q     And do you have any facts about the Mueller probe  
13     and officials in Ukraine cooperating or not cooperating with  
14     the Mueller probe outside of this letter?

15          A     No.

16          Q     Did you know it was an issue or an alleged issue?

17          A     No, I didn't. But, you know, before I was saying  
18     that we have a mutual legal assistance treaty with Ukraine.  
19     And so when there are matters, you know, that appropriately  
20     would be taken up by DOJ or the FBI or something like that,  
21     they go through those channels.

22           And they don't always, depending on what the issue is,  
23     whether it's either so insignificant or whether it's, you  
24     know, compartmentalized and very closely held, they don't  
25     always share with us those things.

1           I'm assuming -- well, yeah. So I'm not aware.

2           Mr. CASTOR: Mr. Zeldin, do you have any additional  
3       follow-up on this one?

4           MR. ZELDIN: Ambassador, you just testified that someone  
5       had reached out to you personally in August on your personal  
6       device?

7           MS. YOVANOVITCH: I'm sorry?

8           MR. ZELDIN: In clarifying an answer to a question asked  
9       by the majority, I just want to understand what you were  
10      saying. A staffer or somebody reached out to you in August?

11          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Oh, yeah. Uh-huh. Yeah. On my  
12      personal email.

13          MR. ZELDIN: And what was that about?

14          MS. YOVANOVITCH: They -- from the Foreign Affairs  
15      Committee, and they wanted me to come in and talk about, I  
16      guess, the circumstances of my departure.

17          MR. ZELDIN: Come in and talk where? Who -- where were  
18      they calling from?

19          MS. YOVANOVITCH: No. This was an email.

20          MR. ZELDIN: An email. Where were they emailing you  
21      from?

22          MS. YOVANOVITCH: I presume Washington. It was House  
23      Foreign Affairs.

24          MR. ZELDIN: A House Foreign Affairs staffer --

25          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yeah.

1           MR. ZELDIN: -- reached out to you in August?

2           MS. YOVANOVITCH: Uh-huh.

3           MR. ZELDIN: Do you remember when in August that was?

4           MS. YOVANOVITCH: I want to say, like, maybe August --  
5           mid-August, maybe. Maybe mid-August.

6           MR. ZELDIN: Did you know this person?

7           MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yes.

8           MR. ZELDIN: And how did -- where did you know that  
9           person from?

10          MS. YOVANOVITCH: She had previously worked at the State  
11          Department.

12          MR. ZELDIN: And how do you know that person at the  
13          State Department?

14          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Because she worked at the State  
15          Department.

16          MR. ZELDIN: Where did you work together at the State  
17          Department?

18          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Well, I'm not exactly sure. I think  
19          she worked in DRL and in the office that handles human  
20          rights, and it must have been either in connection with my  
21          Ukraine work or previous work in the European Bureau. I  
22          don't recall exactly when we met.

23          MR. ZELDIN: And when was -- how often do you  
24          communicate with this person?

25          MS. YOVANOVITCH: That was the only time.

1           MR. ZELDIN: When was the last time you had communicated  
2 with that person?

3           MS. YOVANOVITCH: Well, I should actually clarify. So  
4 she emailed me. I alerted the State Department and, you  
5 know, asked them to handle the correspondence. And she  
6 emailed me again and said, you know, who should I be in touch  
7 with?

8           MR. ZELDIN: To try to get you to come in and testify to  
9 the House Foreign Affairs Committee?

10          MS. YOVANOVITCH: It wasn't clear to me whether it was  
11 going to be -- whether this was a discussion with her,  
12 whether this was a discussion with other staffers, whether it  
13 was a deposition. I mean, it just didn't get that far,  
14 because I transferred that information to the State  
15 Department lawyers -- well, H, actually.

16          MR. ZELDIN: And what specifically was she asking you to  
17 speak about?

18          MS. YOVANOVITCH: I think -- I think it was the  
19 circumstances of my departure, or maybe she just kept it more  
20 general and said to catch up, but I understood it as that.

21          MR. ZELDIN: Do you know if she had reached out to other  
22 people about that?

23          MS. YOVANOVITCH: I don't know.

24          MR. ZELDIN: And you -- one more time. And what did you  
25 do after you received the email?

1           MS. YOVANOVITCH: I alerted the State Department,  
2 because I'm still an employee and so matters are generally  
3 handled through the State Department.

4           MR. ZELDIN: Was that person responded to by you or  
5 someone else?

6           MS. YOVANOVITCH: I believe, yes, by [REDACTED] in  
7 the Legislative Affairs office.

8           MR. ZELDIN: Did you receive any subsequent requests to  
9 testify to the House Foreign Affairs Committee or to come in  
10 to speak to someone at the House Foreign Affairs Committee  
11 following that initial email? Was there any follow-up?

12          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Well, as I said, there was the second  
13 email where she said, oh, okay, you know, who should I be  
14 talking to?

15          I didn't respond to that email, because I had already  
16 transferred everything to the State Department and I figured  
17 they would be in touch, and they were.

18          MR. ZELDIN: Shifting gears, a question. Do you know  
19 who a member of the Ukraine parliament is named Andrei  
20 Derkach?

21          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yes.

22          MR. ZELDIN: And what can you tell us about Andrei  
23 Derkach? Did you have any personal interaction with this  
24 person?

25          MS. YOVANOVITCH: I don't think so. I don't think so.

1       He was the son of a former intel chief and was a Rada deputy,  
2       as you just pointed out.

3            MR. ZELDIN: Was this -- was Andrei Derkach respected in  
4       the Ukraine, not respected? Do you know anything about his  
5       character or reputation?

6            MS. YOVANOVITCH: I think he was generally believed to  
7       be kind of part of the old system, shall we say, and so not  
8       terribly respected by those who were trying to reform  
9       Ukraine.

10          MR. ZELDIN: Are you aware of Andrei Derkach ever lying  
11       about anything stated publicly?

12          MS. YOVANOVITCH: I just don't know him and know him  
13       that well, and I can't recall at this time.

14          MR. PERRY: Good afternoon, Ambassador. Scott Perry  
15       from Pennsylvania.

16            You strike me as a person who loves her country and  
17       loves her enterprise.

18          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Thank you.

19          MR. PERRY: I appreciate your indulgence and patience  
20       today.

21          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Thank you.

22          MR. PERRY: I want to go back to your opening statement,  
23       page 7 for me here. I don't know where it is for you. But  
24       the line in quotes, "since he was going to be impeached."

25            And I'm just wondering, you said the allegation is

1       false, but would there be anything that you could think of  
2       where one of your team members or somebody close to you  
3       would -- you might imply something that you said would imply  
4       or that they would infer a negative connotation regarding the  
5       administration, administration policy, the President  
6       particularly, other than that exact verbiage? Like, instead  
7       of saying "since he was going to be impeached," you might  
8       say, "Well, he's not going to be around very long," anything  
9       like that at all?

10           MS. YOVANOVITCH: No.

11           MR. PERRY: Nothing at all that you would think that  
12       would be negative that you -- they could imply or infer?

13           MS. YOVANOVITCH: Not -- not what -- not what you're  
14       talking about, no.

15           MR. PERRY: Okay, ma'am.

16           Moving on. Ukrainian oligarch Victor Pinchuk, I  
17       think -- I'm hoping you're aware, so I'm going to ask you a  
18       couple questions. I think he's a donor to the Clinton  
19       Foundation and the Atlantic Council. Also Mr. Pinchuk and  
20       Burisma helped fund the Atlantic Council.

21           And the Atlantic Council, I don't know whether you're  
22       aware, but I'm asking to ask you if you are, released a  
23       report regarding their assertion of Shokin's corruption. Are  
24       you aware of that?

25           MS. YOVANOVITCH: No, but it's in line with the kind of

1 work that they do.

2 MR. PERRY: Okay. And that, like I said, Victor Pinchuk  
3 and Burisma both helped to fund the Atlantic Council and  
4 maybe even some of the Burisma members are on the board of  
5 the Atlantic Council.

6 Once they released that report, shortly thereafter,  
7 Shokin got fired, and then very shortly thereafter Burisma  
8 went to the new prosecutor general and asked for a reset.

9 Does that -- and I know that earlier you kind of implied  
10 that you didn't want to get involved or didn't see it as your  
11 position to get involved in the politics, the elections,  
12 et cetera, of kind of either country in some way, the United  
13 States of America or Ukraine, but because of some of the  
14 relationships there, are you -- do you know who Victor  
15 Pinchuk is? Do you have a relationship with him?

16 MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yes.

17 MR. PERRY: What is your relationship?

18 MS. YOVANOVITCH: He's one of the wealthiest men in  
19 Ukraine. He's the son-in-law of former President Kuchma.  
20 And so he is wealthy and obviously very involved in his  
21 businesses.

22 But he also is interested in politics, I think funds,  
23 you know, various political actors. At one time, he had his  
24 own political party. At one time, he was a Rada deputy  
25 himself.

1           And he also has this YES Foundation, the Yalta Economic  
2         Summit, which previously was held in Crimea, now is held in  
3         Kyiv every year, and he invites all sorts of luminaries from  
4         all over the world to come to that.

5           And then throughout the year he does various events  
6         where he'll invite somebody, like Mayor Giuliani, for  
7         example, and then they'll have events, and one of the events  
8         is a dinner.

9           So they do all sorts of things with --

10          MR. PERRY: But it didn't strike you at all  
11         concerning -- I mean, with corruption being a kind of a --  
12         one of the hallmarks, unfortunately, of the country of  
13         Ukraine, it didn't strike you -- well, you didn't know  
14         anything about the Atlantic Council's report?

15          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Well, it sounds from the way you're  
16         describing the timeline of events --

17          MR. PERRY: Chain of events, correct.

18          MS. YOVANOVITCH: -- that that would -- that the release  
19         of that article or report would have been well before I  
20         arrived in Ukraine.

21          MR. PERRY: Okay.

22          MS. YOVANOVITCH: And as I said before, I wasn't aware  
23         of that particular report from the Atlantic Council.

24          MR. PERRY: Fair enough, then. But then moving on,  
25         regarding the 2016 elections, and you arrived in August

1       of 2016, did you have any concerns regarding corruption about  
2       Ukraine's involvement in the Manafort investigation, Burisma  
3       Holdings, et cetera, and the fact that in December of '18, so  
4       that's about 2 years -- a little over 2 years after you  
5       arrived, there were two convictions in Ukraine regarding  
6       election interference of the United States? So did that  
7       concern you?

8           And just as a curiosity for me, and maybe everybody  
9       else, what do you see the ambassador's role in that,  
10      especially with the collaborative agreement that the United  
11      States has with Ukraine with this alleged or actual  
12      corruption and the convictions?

13       MS. YOVANOVITCH: Well, my understanding is that the  
14      lower court -- are you talking about Mr. Leshchenko?

15       MR. PERRY: There were two convictions. I don't have  
16      the individuals' names at this time. But I'm sure we can get  
17      them.

18       MS. YOVANOVITCH: Well, there was -- so I'll tell you  
19      what I know.

20       MR. PERRY: Sure.

21       MS. YOVANOVITCH: There was a court case, and you're  
22      correct that in the lower courts, they were found guilty.  
23      And I'm not exactly sure what the charge was, but it was  
24      overturned in the upper courts.

25       MR. PERRY: But it wasn't overturned until recently?

1 MS. YOVANOVITCH: That's correct.

2 MR. PERRY: So at that time, you're the ambassador at  
3 that time, and, of course, you see everything that's going on  
4 in the United States regarding the charge of Russian  
5 collusion and Russian interference into the election, and  
6 even though I think you said at some point that the Ukrainian  
7 involvement was debunked, apparently it wasn't debunked in  
8 2018 when these two individuals were convicted.

9 What was your role, if any, or what did you see your  
10 role as in regarding our collateral relationship in the form  
11 of a treaty regarding corruption between the United States  
12 and Ukraine, you as the ambassador? Did you have any  
13 interest? Did you do anything? Should you have done  
14 anything?

15 MS. YOVANOVITCH: I -- so you put a lot of things on the  
16 table, and so if I could just separate them out.

17 MR. PERRY: Yes, ma'am.

18 MS. YOVANOVITCH: So the issue of Burisma, I think, has  
19 been addressed. Or do you have other, more specific  
20 questions?

21 MR. PERRY: Well, I mean, it was part of -- it seems to  
22 be an ongoing part of the conversation, whether in the past  
23 with Pinchuk during the investigation heretofore, because you  
24 knew it was out there, it had been started, it was, what was  
25 the word you called?

1 MS. YOVANOVITCH: Dormant.

2 MR. PERRY: It was dormant, but it was hanging out there  
3 maybe as leverage. And now, of course, it's come to light  
4 again and has been in some light.

5 So, again, to me corruption's a big issue. We've got a  
6 new President who just won a 70 percent election on  
7 corruption itself. There's all this corruption conversation  
8 going around, but quite honestly, no disrespect intended, I  
9 don't know what the ambassador's involvement is in dealing  
10 with that, so that's why I'm asking.

11 What is it? What should it be? What do you view your  
12 role to be? What was the expectation from the State  
13 Department?

14 MS. YOVANOVITCH: I think -- I mean, my role was to set  
15 direction, to support various offices. We had the FBI there,  
16 we had the narcotics law enforcement office, the State  
17 Department has a big presence there. We have a number of  
18 different offices, USAID, et cetera, et cetera, all of whom  
19 have, you know, some portion of some of the issues that  
20 you've raised.

21 And so my job is to set direction, provide support, and,  
22 you know, kind of be the public persona. I don't get  
23 involved in everything. People raise issues as they think  
24 it's appropriate or I need to get involved.

25 So I don't know if that gives you a sense --

1           MR. PERRY: Did you have any conversations with the  
2 Department of State, your bosses, George Kent or otherwise,  
3 regarding Burisma, regarding the fact that it was involved in  
4 the investigation, and that Mr. Biden, Vice President Biden's  
5 son was a board member, or any -- or with the Department of  
6 Justice? Did you have any conversations at all regarding  
7 those proceedings and those occurrences over that course of  
8 time?

9           MS. YOVANOVITCH: So Mr. Kent was the deputy in the  
10 embassy until last summer, so we worked obviously very  
11 closely together at that time. We, to my knowledge, we never  
12 discussed Hunter Biden and his board role and all of that, or  
13 to my recollection, I should say.

14          MR. PERRY: Okay.

15          MS. YOVANOVITCH: He did share with me his understanding  
16 of what happened, what occurred with regard to the British  
17 court case against Zlochevsky, the head of Burisma. That,  
18 you know, again, happened before my arrival. That was, you  
19 know, pretty much it.

20          MR. PERRY: So it was Leshchenko who was one of the two  
21 persons convicted in 2018. Both were convicted of attempting  
22 to influence the 2016 U.S. election. I'm sure you must have  
23 had a keen awareness of it and the conviction. Just, do you  
24 have any further thoughts on that and what you were thinking  
25 at the time?

1           MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yeah. I mean, honestly, I didn't  
2 believe the charges. I thought that they were politically  
3 motivated against Leshchenko. We -- I guess all of these  
4 things are judgment calls, but --

5           MR. PERRY: Okay.

6           MS. YOVANOVITCH: -- I did not feel --

7           MR. MEADOWS: So let me make sure. I want the spelling  
8 of this. Is this L-e-s-h-c-h-e-n-k-o? Is that Leshchenko?

9           MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yes. Yeah. I mean --

10          MR. MEADOWS: Go ahead.

11          MS. YOVANOVITCH: -- there's many different ways you can  
12 spell it, but that's one.

13          MR. MEADOWS: Well, for this North Carolina guy, that's  
14 as close as I'm going to get. All right.

15          Go ahead. I didn't mean to interrupt. I'm sorry.

16          MS. YOVANOVITCH: So I felt it was kind of a politically  
17 motivated charge against Mr. Leshchenko, and I -- again, you  
18 know, it felt too political to me. There were no  
19 instructions from the State Department or DOJ or, you know,  
20 Washington to, you know, go in and do X, Y, or Z, and so I  
21 really felt that we wanted to stay away from --

22          MR. PERRY: Okay.

23          MS. YOVANOVITCH: -- what seemed to be internal  
24 Ukrainian political fights kind of using us.

25          MR. PERRY: It didn't concern you as the ambassador,

1       with everything that we were embroiled here in the United  
2       States, that you didn't hear anybody, anything from higher up  
3       in the State Department or in the Department of Justice  
4       regarding the conviction, regardless of what your view of it  
5       was? Does that seem -- because it was affecting the United  
6       States election. And I don't have to probably remind you of  
7       what's been going on for the last 2-1/2, 3 years here.

8           So it didn't strike you that you didn't get a phone  
9       call, an email, or anything, you know, saying what's  
10      happening here? Is this legitimate? Should we be concerned?  
11      Is this something we should pursue?

12           MS. YOVANOVITCH: The court system in Ukraine, and  
13       certainly at the time that we're talking about, was still not  
14       reformed, and so the court system didn't have a great deal,  
15       and still does not enjoy, a great deal of credibility.

16           MR. PERRY: Okay.

17           MS. YOVANOVITCH: So I think people, you know, just  
18       didn't find it to be credible.

19           MR. MEADOWS: So, Ambassador -- excuse me, Scott, if I  
20       can jump in, because I want to follow up, I guess, on a  
21       couple of questions that have come up earlier.

22           MS. YOVANOVITCH: Uh-huh.

23           MR. MEADOWS: Because you've said that you have not  
24       gotten involved really in the political sense, and yet here  
25       we have --

1 MS. YOVANOVITCH: I try very hard.

2 MR. MEADOWS: Here we have a conviction of U.S.  
3 meddling, and you just viewed that as not being significant  
4 and you just dismissed it?

5 I just find that -- you know, everything else you've  
6 been saying today, you know, that just is hard to believe  
7 that, based on the backdrop of what we have, that you just  
8 dismissed that and suggested that it just wasn't credible.

9 MS. YOVANOVITCH: Well, that was our view, that it  
10 wasn't credible. The court process was continuing. And in  
11 the end, they were acquitted.

12 MR. MEADOWS: So let me go a little bit further.

13 MS. YOVANOVITCH: Okay.

14 MR. MEADOWS: So you're saying -- sorry, I jumped on the  
15 end of your statement. The court process was continuing and  
16 they've been -- it's been overturned by a higher court now.  
17 Is that what you were going to say?

18 MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yes.

19 MR. MEADOWS: So earlier you were asked about people  
20 that you might have mentioned, when Mr. Zeldin was asking you  
21 questions, and you could only recall.

22 MS. YOVANOVITCH: Mr. Sytnyk.

23 MR. MEADOWS: And so I've got some names that I just  
24 want to kind of lay out for you to maybe would refresh your  
25 memory. And one of those names, actually the reason why

1 I spelled it out, was this very individual that Mr. Perry is  
2 bringing up, that according to some of our sources would  
3 indicate that the State Department and your group may have  
4 mentioned that you wanted certain guardrails around  
5 Mr. Leshchenko. Is that correct?

6 MS. YOVANOVITCH: No.

7 MR. MEADOWS: So you've never had a conversation with  
8 anybody at the State Department regarding Mr. Leshchenko in  
9 terms of saying, well, we need to make sure that he's off  
10 limits?

11 MS. YOVANOVITCH: No.

12 MEADOWS: No special treatment for him?

13 MS. YOVANOVITCH: No.

14 MR. MEADOWS: All right. Well, you mentioned, was it  
15 Nayem? Is that correct? Have you mentioned that before?

16 MS. YOVANOVITCH: Have I mentioned what?

17 MR. MEADOWS: So who was the one individual you said  
18 that you weighed in on?

19 Mr. CASTOR: Sytnyk.

20 MS. YOVANOVITCH: Sytnyk. Sytnyk.

21 MR. MEADOWS: All right. How about AntAC? Does that  
22 name ring a bell to you?

23 MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yes.

24 MR. MEADOWS: So have you weighed in verbally with  
25 regards to any special treatment for AntAC?

1           MS. YOVANOVITCH: No. But here's the thing. What I  
2 have consistently done is said that any prosecutions need to  
3 be done according to the law and not be politically  
4 motivated.

5           MR. MEADOWS: And that's consistent with your earlier  
6 testimony. However, earlier, when Mr. Zeldin was asking you  
7 about individual cases that you might have brought up and he  
8 was saying case numbers, there seemed to be a little bit of  
9 confusion. I guess is this one of the cases that you might  
10 have brought up with other individuals at the State  
11 Department?

12          MS. YOVANOVITCH: There was -- at the State Department?  
13 We probably --

14          MR. MEADOWS: Or anywhere else.

15          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yeah. So there was -- one of the  
16 leaders of AntAC was -- there were demonstrations, I think,  
17 in the -- I can't remember whether it was the fall or the  
18 spring of 2016, and one of the individuals that leads AntAC  
19 was -- there was, like, some hooliganism charge or something  
20 like that where he had -- there was some charge like that.  
21 Again, I'm sorry, it was a long time ago. I don't recall the  
22 details.

23          So this is, again, not an anticorruption case. But,  
24 again, cases should be dealt with in a consistent manner,  
25 and, again, not politically motivated, and according to the

1 rule of law.

2 And I think, you know, in that hooliganism case, I think  
3 members of the embassy probably did raise the issue that he  
4 seemed to be scapegoating and being held to a different  
5 standard than others who were maybe more aligned with the  
6 administration.

7 MR. MEADOWS: So you did weigh in on that one in terms  
8 of --

9 MS. YOVANOVITCH: It was not an anticorruption issue.

10 MR. MEADOWS: Okay. So let me give you another name,  
11 then. Is it Shabunin, S-h-a-b-u-n-i-n?

12 MS. YOVANOVITCH: That's actually the name of the  
13 individual.

14 MR. MEADOWS: All right. So that's the individual with  
15 AntAC?

16 MS. YOVANOVITCH: That was up on hooliganism charges.

17 MR. MEADOWS: All right. And how about Nayem,  
18 N-a-y-e-m? Does that ring a bell?

19 MS. YOVANOVITCH: Mustafa (ph) Nayem?

20 MR. MEADOWS: I'm sorry. I'm not Ukrainian. So you --

21 MS. YOVANOVITCH: Neither am I. Yeah. I don't recall  
22 him actually --

23 MR. MEADOWS: So you don't recall weighing in with  
24 regards to that individual in any --

25 MS. YOVANOVITCH: I don't think he was ever arrested or

1 charged with anything.

2 MR. MEADOWS: I didn't say that. I said did you weigh  
3 in in terms of putting guardrails in terms of --

4 MS. YOVANOVITCH: No.

5 MR. MEADOWS: -- the treatment of that particular  
6 individual with anyone from the embassy?

7 MS. YOVANOVITCH: And can I -- and I would also say, we  
8 don't put guardrails on individuals.

9 MR. MEADOWS: Okay. Well, let's change the words,  
10 because those are my words. So obviously you're saying we're  
11 looking at it a little differently. And obviously with  
12 regards to the one individual, you did say you felt like they  
13 were getting a bum deal. Is that correct?

14 MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yeah. I think what we try to do is to  
15 talk about the principles that should govern the way, you  
16 know, whether it's law enforcement or other things are  
17 conducted, but we don't say yea or nay.

18 MR. MEADOWS: Yeah. And so I want to make sure I'm --  
19 you know, I'm saying weighing in. It was actually weighing  
20 in with the prosecutor, is what I'm talking about.

21 So when you've weighed in with the prosecutor on any of  
22 these four people, or the four names that I've given you,  
23 have you weighed in with the prosecutor from the embassy to  
24 the prosecutor in Ukraine at all?

25 MS. YOVANOVITCH: I'm not sure that conversation took

1 place with the prosecutor.

2 MR. MEADOWS: Well, with anyone associated with the  
3 prosecutor?

4 And I think you know where I'm going with this, but if I  
5 need to spell it out, I'm willing to do that.

6 MS. YOVANOVITCH: So --

7 MR. MEADOWS: I just want to -- I want to make sure you  
8 clarify the record, because you've seemed like you're trying  
9 to get the testimony right, and that's why I'm giving you  
10 these names.

11 MS. YOVANOVITCH: Uh-huh. So you're saying that I  
12 weighed in.

13 What was actually happening is that on this particular  
14 case with Mr. Shabunin, the Presidential administration was  
15 weighing in with me and with us at the embassy, because they  
16 felt that we had influence with Mr. Shabunin and to see  
17 whether he could, you know, curtail his criticism, shall we  
18 say, of Mr. Poroshenko and events in Ukraine.

19 And they -- when there was this incident, which I don't  
20 recall very well, they raised that and said, you know, you  
21 see clearly he's a bad apple -- my words now, not theirs.  
22 And, you know, again, I said, well, you know, I mean,  
23 obviously you have processes, but they need to be according  
24 to the principles that we've been talking about for all this  
25 time.

1           MR. MEADOWS: So let me switch gears real quickly,  
2 because I don't know that we've got much time left.

3           How much time do we have left.

4           Mr. CASTOR: The time expires at 5:27, so we've got  
5 about 7 minutes.

6           MR. MEADOWS: All right. So let me switch gears and  
7 follow up on something that Mr. Jordan had asked about. He  
8 was talking about the conversation you had in August with  
9 Mr. Kent.

10          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yes.

11          MR. MEADOWS: And Mr. Kent shared, I guess, the details  
12 or his perception of a classified phone conversation between  
13 two leaders with you. Is that --

14          THE CHAIRMAN: If I could just interject. No one has  
15 said it was classified except --

16          MR. MEADOWS: Well, I mean, we had to have it  
17 unclassified for us to see it. I mean, it says  
18 "unclassified" on the top.

19          THE CHAIRMAN: Well, you're positing, though, that the  
20 witness has said that this is a classified call or that  
21 that's an established fact.

22          MR. MEADOWS: Well, let her answer that.

23          Did he indicate that it was a classified call?

24          MS. YOVANOVITCH: No.

25          MR. MEADOWS: Did you have any idea that it perhaps

1       could be a classified call between two foreign leaders?

2           MS. YOVANOVITCH: [Nonverbal response.]

3           MR. MEADOWS: You're a career diplomat. I can't imagine  
4           that --

5           MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yeah. I didn't think that the  
6           particular thing, the particular part that he shared with me  
7           actually was classified.

8           MR. MEADOWS: What particular part did he share with  
9           you?

10          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Well, as I said --

11          MR. MEADOWS: Did he talk about a whistleblower at all  
12          in that conversation?

13          MS. YOVANOVITCH: No, no.

14          MR. MEADOWS: So why did he reach out to you?

15          MS. YOVANOVITCH: I'm not sure he reached out to me.

16          MR. MEADOWS: Well, you said he called you, right?

17          MS. YOVANOVITCH: No, I didn't. I mean, I think --  
18          again, I can't recall whether it was in -- I think you were  
19          asking me whether it was in August or September. But we, you  
20          know, at a meeting or something, we spoke about this. It  
21          wasn't over a phone.

22          MR. MEADOWS: So at a meeting at Georgetown? Where was  
23          the meeting? I mean, because you weren't in your official  
24          capacity. I'm just trying to --

25          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yeah.

1           MR. MEADOWS: -- get a sense of why all of a sudden the  
2       two of you would be talking about something that we didn't  
3       find out about until weeks later.

4           MS. YOVANOVITCH: Right. I'm sorry. I can't remember  
5       the circumstances of the conversation.

6           MR. MEADOWS: Do you remember where the conversation  
7       took place?

8           MS. YOVANOVITCH: I do not. I do not.

9           MR. MEADOWS: So you just know that it took -- so it may  
10      have been in a meeting or it may have been in a phone call,  
11      but you don't recall?

12          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Well, I'm pretty sure it wasn't a  
13      phone call, because -- I'm pretty sure it wasn't a phone  
14      call.

15          But I -- you know, as to -- so you're asking why? I  
16      think because he knew that I was still interested, still  
17      interested in Ukraine.

18          MR. MEADOWS: So he was -- he knew you were interested  
19      in a phone call that took place that you didn't know had --

20          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Interested in the bilateral  
21      relationship.

22          MR. MEADOWS: I beg your pardon?

23          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Interested in the bilateral  
24      relationship, and, you know, hoping --

25          MR. MEADOWS: So did he say anything negative about the

1 President of the United States in that conversation with you?

2 MS. YOVANOVITCH: No, I wouldn't say that.

3 MR. MEADOWS: So it was a -- he said it in a positive  
4 manner about -- I mean, help -- bring me into the room, into  
5 the conversation. How did he characterize the President's  
6 actions, in a positive or negative manner?

7 MS. YOVANOVITCH: I think it was just a factual manner,  
8 that this occurred and this was Zelensky's response.

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1           [5:25 p.m.]

2           MR. MEADOWS: And so Zelensky didn't see it as a big  
3 deal is what he said?

4           MS. YOVANOVITCH: He said that President Zelensky, that  
5 he noted that, you know, some of the things that President  
6 Trump was talking about happened, you know, under the  
7 previous administration, and that he would have his own  
8 person, you know, as prosecutor general.

9           And, you know, I don't think that Mr. Kent was on the  
10 call either, and so maybe he didn't have full information,  
11 but he took that to mean that President Zelensky had not  
12 accepted the proposal.

13          MR. MEADOWS: Do you recall how he shared with you how  
14 he found out about the call since he wasn't on it?

15          MS. YOVANOVITCH: No, I don't know.

16          MR. MEADOWS: So he just said it's water cooler talk? I  
17 mean, how would George Kent -- how would Mr. Kent, Ambassador  
18 Kent know about that?

19          MS. YOVANOVITCH: I don't know.

20          MR. MEADOWS: Okay. And then finally, I guess, is, once  
21 the characterization he made of the call when you read the  
22 transcript for yourself, was that consistent with the way  
23 that he characterized it?

24          MS. YOVANOVITCH: It didn't seem to -- well, I think  
25 that the call, the summary of the call is a little bit -- you

1 can interpret it in different ways. And so it seemed that  
2 Mr. Zelensky was more open to the various proposals than I  
3 had understood.

4 MR. JORDAN: Ambassador, did he call you to talk about  
5 the corruption element of the phone call, or did he call to  
6 tell you that you were mentioned in the phone call?

7 MS. YOVANOVITCH: As I said, I am pretty sure it was not  
8 a phone call, number one.

9 MR. JORDAN: Okay. But the conversation, what was it  
10 about, both of those issues or -- because I'm not exactly  
11 sure what he communicated to you other than that there was  
12 this call between President Trump and President Zelensky, and  
13 then he characterized elements of, you know, what took place  
14 on that phone call in a meeting with you. What did he tell  
15 you?

16 MS. YOVANOVITCH: Well, he told me what I just relayed  
17 to your colleague. He did not say, however, anything about  
18 me. I had no idea that I featured in this conversation.

19 MR. JORDAN: So he didn't tell you that you were  
20 mentioned in the phone call between President Zelensky --

21 MS. YOVANOVITCH: No.

22 MR. JORDAN: Interesting, okay. Thank you.

23 MR. MEADOWS: And since we're out of time, I just want  
24 to know one thing. Ambassador Volker said awful nice things  
25 about you, and he said that you're called Masha.

1 MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yes.

2 MR. MEADOWS: Where did you get that name from?

3 MS. YOVANOVITCH: Well, despite my posting to Ukraine,  
4 I'm actually half Russian, and it's a Russian nickname.

5 MR. MEADOWS: I yield back.

6 THE CHAIRMAN: Would you like to take a little break?

7 MS. YOVANOVITCH: How much longer?

8 MR. ROBBINS: How close are we to being done is the key  
9 question?

10 THE CHAIRMAN: I would hope -- although I can't  
11 guarantee, I would hope that maybe a 45-minute round, a  
12 45-minute round, we should be close to done, but I don't want  
13 to promise, depending on -- but we're going to do our very  
14 best. Do you want to just keep motoring through?

15 MS. YOVANOVITCH: Well, why don't we keep motoring  
16 through, but if it's another 45 minutes after that, I am  
17 going to have to take a break.

18 THE CHAIRMAN: Okay, that sounds good.

19 I just had a quick follow-up question before I yielded  
20 to my colleagues. You were Ambassador to Ukraine for how  
21 long?

22 MS. YOVANOVITCH: Almost 3 years.

23 THE CHAIRMAN: Almost 3 years. And did you develop in  
24 these 3 years a deep interest in Ukraine and its future?

25 MS. YOVANOVITCH: I did. And I would also just say that

1       this was my second tour in Ukraine, so yes.

2           THE CHAIRMAN: And when you stop being an Ambassador to  
3       a country, does that mean that you no longer have any  
4       interest in that country?

5           MS. YOVANOVITCH: No.

6           THE CHAIRMAN: And people in the Diplomatic Corps would  
7       know you were still interested in the happenings in that  
8       country, would they not?

9           MR. ROBBINS: That is correct.

10          THE CHAIRMAN: And, indeed, when you left prior posts in  
11       Armenia and elsewhere, people would continue to keep you  
12       informed on how Armenia was doing, I imagine.

13          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Still do.

14          THE CHAIRMAN: Still do. So not unusual at all once you  
15       leave a post for colleagues to continue sharing with you  
16       information about how that country is doing and how relations  
17       are between the U.S. and that country?

18          MS. YOVANOVITCH: That is correct.

19          THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Maloney.

20          MR. MALONEY: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

21          Ambassador Yovanovitch, my name is Sean Maloney. I  
22       represent a district in New York. We've been here for more  
23       than 7 hours so, first of all, thank you very much for your  
24       patience with us.

25          And I think it's useful sometimes at that point in the

1       day just to summarize, and so I just have a few summary  
2       questions and I just want to make sure I understand your  
3       testimony. And so please disagree with me if you think I'm  
4       misstating anything, but you spent more than 30 years in the  
5       Foreign Service. Is that correct?

6                  MS. YOVANOVITCH: Thirty-three years.

7                  MR. MALONEY: And you were the United States Ambassador  
8        to Ukraine; and having spent hours listening to you, it sure  
9        seems like you were committed to that job. Is that fair to  
10      say?

11                 MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yes, very much so.

12                 MR. MALONEY: And you were good at it, weren't you,  
13      ma'am?

14                 MS. YOVANOVITCH: I think so.

15                 MR. MALONEY: And you had the approval of your bosses at  
16        the State Department. In fact, they wanted to extend your  
17        tour. Is that fair to say?

18                 MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yes.

19                 MR. MALONEY: And then along came Rudy Giuliani, and he  
20        represented a group of American businessmen, now indicted,  
21        who believed that you were somehow in their way. Is that  
22        fair to say, that you were in the way of their business  
23        interests in Ukraine?

24                 MS. YOVANOVITCH: That appears to be the case.

25                 MR. MALONEY: We're talking about Mr. Parnas and

1           Mr. Fruman?

2           MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yes.

3           MR. MALONEY: And he was also, of course, advancing  
4           President Trump's desire and interests, which the President  
5           has admitted in getting an investigation of the Bidens going  
6           in Ukraine. That's true as well, isn't it?

7           MS. YOVANOVITCH: It appears to be the case.

8           MR. MALONEY: But, again, you were in the way, at least  
9           in the minds of Mr. Giuliani and Mr. Trump and Mr. Parnas and  
10          Mr. Fruman. You were an obstacle, it seems, to President  
11          Trump's political interests and the financial interests of  
12          Mr. Giuliani's now-indicted associates. Is that the sum and  
13          substance of your testimony today?

14          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Well, that appears to be how events  
15          have unfolded.

16          MR. MALONEY: And so, they partnered -- I believe that  
17          was your word -- they partnered with Mr. Lutsenko to get you  
18          fired. Isn't that right?

19          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yes.

20          MR. MALONEY: They got a story in The Hill newspaper  
21          about you. They fired up Sean Hannity. They got a  
22          Republican Congressman, Pete Sessions, to write a letter  
23          criticizing you. They made a bunch of illegal -- apparently  
24          illegal campaign contributions we now know about. They even  
25          tried to dump a bunch of dirt on you, as I understand,

1       through the State Department IG. Is that all correct? You  
2       want me to leave off the last one?

3            MR. ROBBINS: Well, she's not a lawyer. She can't  
4       comment on whether these are campaign finance violations or  
5       not.

6            MR. MALONEY: I appreciate that, Mr. Robbins.

7            There was a story in The Hill newspaper. Sean Hannity  
8       got involved, Pete Sessions wrote a letter, and there are  
9       apparently illegal campaign contributions, all related to  
10      you, isn't that right, and the desire to get you fired?

11          MS. YOVANOVITCH: That appears to be the case.

12          MR. MALONEY: Well, and it worked, didn't it,  
13      Ambassador?

14          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yes.

15          MR. MALONEY: They got you out of the way. It seems to  
16      me they threw you to the wolves. Is that what happened?

17          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Well, clearly, they didn't want me in  
18      Ukraine anymore.

19          MR. MALONEY: And so, if you were going to sum up why  
20      you were such a problem for the political interests of the  
21      President in trying to get this investigation started of the  
22      Bidens and the financial interests of Mr. Giuliani's  
23      now-indicted associates, why were you such a thorn in their  
24      side that you had to be fired?

25          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Honestly, it's a mystery to me; but

1       all I can conclude from everything that I've seen over the  
2       last 5 or 6 months is that they felt that our policy to try  
3       to make Ukraine stronger and more resilient, through the  
4       anticorruption policies as well as through, you know, the  
5       other assistance that we've talked about today, and that our  
6       policies and our actions, and specifically my actions, as the  
7       leader of the U.S. embassy, were, you know, problematic for  
8       them. I don't know why that would be, though, because it is  
9       our policy.

10           MR. MALONEY: Well, Madam Ambassador, I want to tell you  
11       that I've spent years working at the White House in State  
12       government, years now in the Congress. I've spent a lot of  
13       time around a lot of senior government officials, a lot of  
14       members of the Foreign Service. I attended the Georgetown  
15       School of Foreign Service.

16           I want to let you know that I don't recall ever seeing  
17       someone treated as poorly as you've been treated, and I think  
18       you're owed an apology by your government. And I think  
19       you've served the country well and honorably for a long, long  
20       time, and you didn't deserve this. And I appreciate your  
21       appearance today, and I just want to let you know that some  
22       of us feel very badly about what's happened to you.

23           MS. YOVANOVITCH: Thank you.

24           THE CHAIRMAN: I'd just like to say amen to that.

25           Representative Heck.

1           MR. HECK: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

2           Madam Ambassador, my name is Denny Heck. I have the  
3           privilege to represent the 10th District of Washington State.

4           My questioning will be brief, beginning with: Once you  
5           reach ambassadorial ranking at the State Department, does the  
6           Department have any systematic feedback or performance for  
7           ambassadors, however formal or informal?

8           MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yes. We have an evaluation process  
9           every year that is written, and then there are counseling  
10          sessions, you know, three or four during the year. But  
11          there's a written document of how you have done that year.

12          MR. HECK: Did you have that evaluation performed while  
13          you were in Ukraine?

14          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yes.

15          MR. HECK: Once or twice or three times?

16          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Actually, I'm not even sure, because  
17          there was -- it was at least four times, maybe even more,  
18          because there was a change of administration. So the direct  
19          supervisor, the Assistant Secretary changed, et cetera, et  
20          cetera. So a number of evaluations.

21          MR. HECK: Were any of those evaluations negative?

22          MS. YOVANOVITCH: No.

23          MR. HECK: Did any of them cite serious concerns for any  
24          aspect of your performance?

25          MS. YOVANOVITCH: No.

1           MR. HECK: Is that also true of your entire 33 years at  
2 the State Department?

3           MS. YOVANOVITCH: Pretty much.

4           MR. HECK: Is it fair or accurate to say that during  
5 your 33 years at the State Department, more or less, you had  
6 a steady progression of responsibilities given to you?

7           MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yes.

8           MR. HECK: Thank you for your service, ma'am.

9           MS. YOVANOVITCH: Thank you.

10          THE CHAIRMAN: Malinowski.

11          MR. MALINOWSKI: Thank you.

12          Ambassador, I first want to echo Representative  
13 Maloney's comments.

14          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Thank you.

15          MR. MALINOWSKI: As you know, we served in the same  
16 institution on two separate occasions. I served at the NSC.  
17 What you're describing is completely alien to me, I guess  
18 with the caveat that I have seen it in other countries, but  
19 not in the United States of America, and shocked and dismayed  
20 is very diplomatic language that you used for what you  
21 described ensued.

22          I want to spend a little bit of time running through  
23 with you some of the things you said about our anticorruption  
24 policies. I want to have -- I want to make sure that  
25 everyone has a better understanding of what we as a country,

1       we as a government are actually about.

2           That there was a comprehensive anticorruption policy  
3       being pursued by the administration through you, through the  
4       embassy and other agencies. That would have involved  
5       providing financial support, grants through USAID to  
6       anticorruption organizations operating in Ukraine. Is that  
7       correct?

8           MS. YOVANOVITCH: That is correct.

9           MR. MALINOWSKI: It would have involved a lot of  
10      advocacy aimed at strengthening the various anticorruption  
11      institutions in the country. You mentioned the National  
12      Anticorruption Bureau of Ukraine, NABU, for example, which  
13      was, would you agree, good in concept but needed improvement  
14      in terms of how it was operating?

15           MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yes, that is correct.

16           MR. MALINOWSKI: More support, more resources.

17           My understanding -- there's also an anticorruption  
18      court, which was an important reform, but also would you say  
19      something that needed significant improvement?

20           MS. YOVANOVITCH: Well, and it's only just been stood  
21      up. It just started working in September of this year.

22           MR. MALINOWSKI: Understood. My understanding is that  
23      over 100 cases, specific cases, have been referred from NABU  
24      to the anticorruption court that have not yet been acted on.  
25      Does that sound right to you?

1           MS. YOVANOVITCH: That sounds right as of about the time  
2       that I left, but I don't know what the status is now.

3           MR. MALINOWSKI: Understood. So we would have been  
4       pushing these institutions to accelerate, intensify that work  
5       to show better results. Is that correct?

6           MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yeah. That's what the Ukrainian  
7       people want.

8           MR. MALINOWSKI: There was a law on illicit enrichment  
9       of public officials which was struck down by the courts, and  
10      then we were advocating that it be reintroduced by the new  
11      administration. Is that correct?

12          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yes, and it was specifically one of  
13      the issues that I mentioned in that March 5th speech.

14          MR. MALINOWSKI: And I think you also mentioned in that  
15      speech the need to fight corruption in the defense sector.  
16      You mentioned Ukroboronprom, the main defense company.

17          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Uh-huh.

18          MR. MALINOWSKI: And there have been a lot of, you know,  
19      illicit contracts, people profiting on the side from arms  
20      acquisitions, and you were very concerned about that. You  
21      asked for an audit of that company. Is that correct?

22          MS. YOVANOVITCH: That is correct, because this was all  
23      taking place at a time when Ukraine was actually in a  
24      shooting war with Russia.

25          MR. MALINOWSKI: And then we have discussed the

1       all-important office of the special anticorruption  
2       prosecutor, Mr. Kholodnitsky.

3           MS. YOVANOVITCH: Kholodnitsky.

4           MR. MALINOWSKI: Kholodnitsky. And in that speech, you  
5       pointed to the coaching of suspects in anticorruption cases,  
6       and you pointed out that nobody could serve effectively in  
7       that capacity who was caught doing such things.

8           The day after actually you gave that speech, Under  
9       Secretary Hale visited Ukraine. Is that --

10          MS. YOVANOVITCH: He arrived that night.

11          MR. MALINOWSKI: And so, those issues might -- were  
12       those issues raised by Under Secretary Hale?

13          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yes, they were raised in bilateral  
14       meetings. And I obviously told him about the speech and gave  
15       him a copy and so forth.

16          MR. MALINOWSKI: And was that speech cleared in the  
17       Department?

18          MS. YOVANOVITCH: No.

19          MR. MALINOWSKI: But you did discuss it, as you  
20       mentioned before, with folks back home?

21          MS. YOVANOVITCH: It wasn't a surprise to anybody. I  
22       can't remember whether I had the conversation or somebody  
23       else did.

24          MR. MALINOWSKI: And nobody objected to the thrust  
25       of it?

1           MS. YOVANOVITCH: No. We were quite concerned about the  
2 rollback of these reforms.

3           MR. MALINOWSKI: So this was a comprehensive  
4 anticorruption strategy with a lot of asks, probably many  
5 that I didn't mention and don't know about.

6           So my next question is, to your knowledge, did Mayor  
7 Giuliani, in any of his meetings with Ukrainian officials, in  
8 any of his public statements or interviews, did he press the  
9 Ukrainians to pursue those reforms to this system of  
10 corruption, these specific things that the U.S. Government,  
11 under the Trump administration, was asking the Ukrainians to  
12 do?

13          MS. YOVANOVITCH: I'm not sure, but I did notice that  
14 the -- one of the papers that you provided, which was  
15 Mr. Giuliani's speech at the YES Conference, he talked about  
16 the importance of fighting corruption and so forth. But I'm  
17 not sure --

18          MR. MALINOWSKI: In general terms, but did he --

19          MS. YOVANOVITCH: In general terms.

20          MR. MALINOWSKI: Did he raise the anticorruption court?  
21 Did he raise the need to strength NABU and to --

22          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Not that I'm aware of.

23          MR. MALINOWSKI: Did Ambassador Sondland, in his  
24 engagements with the Ukrainian authorities, press on these  
25 specific, not anticorruption in general, but press on these

1           specific reforms and changes that we were seeking?

2           MS. YOVANOVITCH: I don't think so. Recalling that, you  
3       know, his sort of interest in Ukraine or engagement with  
4       Ukraine started sort of at the end of February, and I was  
5       gone by April 20th -- or May 20th.

6           MR. MALINOWSKI: To your knowledge, did the President or  
7       anyone purporting to speak for the President press the  
8       Ukrainians on these specific reforms?

9           MS. YOVANOVITCH: Well, of course --

10          MR. MALINOWSKI: I mean you, of course.

11          MS. YOVANOVITCH: -- we. We represent the President.

12          MR. MALINOWSKI: But, I mean, these emissaries, these  
13       sort of more informal folks who were coming in who were not  
14       you the ambassador or the State Department, were they  
15       pressing on this specific reform agenda?

16          MS. YOVANOVITCH: I do feel that Ambassador Sondland, as  
17       a businessman himself, understood that corruption was taking  
18       a heavy toll on Ukraine, and so he did the top note.

19          MR. MALINOWSKI: Right. But as far as specifics --

20          MS. YOVANOVITCH: I don't recall the specifics, yeah.

21          MR. MALINOWSKI: But as far as specifics, did these  
22       individuals raise any specific cases or issues other than  
23       Burisma and this theory about what may have happened in 2016,  
24       to your knowledge?

25          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Not to my knowledge.

1                   MR. MALINOWSKI: So it's been argued, you know, since  
2                   this has become a major public issue, that perhaps the  
3                   subsequent decisions that were made to hold up the provision  
4                   of the Javelins, military aid, to hold a potential  
5                   Presidential meeting with President Zelensky, that they were  
6                   linked to broader concerns about corruption in Ukraine.

7                   Is there any evidence that the folks who were  
8                   communicating those decisions were, again, raising any  
9                   specific concerns with regard to corruption, policy  
10                  corruption reforms in Ukraine, other than Burisma and what  
11                  they think happened in 2016?

12                  MS. YOVANOVITCH: Not to my knowledge.

13                  MR. MALINOWSKI: I mean, that's interesting, don't you  
14                  think, that with all this rhetoric about corruption, and we  
15                  have highly specific policies pursued by the Trump  
16                  administration through the State Department, through official  
17                  channels, and yet, with military assistance at stake, none of  
18                  those issues get discussed. Do you find that odd?

19                  MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yeah. I mean, there are a lot of  
20                  important bilateral issues that need to be discussed at the  
21                  highest levels.

22                  MR. MALINOWSKI: So, speaking of the subsequent  
23                  decisions -- and I know you were not there for the ultimate  
24                  discussions about the aid being suspended, but I did want to  
25                  ask you how you believe the Ukrainians would have perceived

1           those decisions in this context.

2           You have, at the time that you were there, signs that  
3           there is perhaps a parallel policy. You've said that the  
4           official administration policy, as represented by the State  
5           Department, was very positive towards Ukraine. You strongly  
6           supported it, that it was, in one respect, better than the  
7           Obama administration's policy.

8           But did it begin to seem as if there was, perhaps, a  
9           parallel policy, represented by Mr. Giuliani and those around  
10          him, that had a different set of priorities?

11          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Well, in retrospect, you know, that  
12          characterization seems to be correct. But at the time, you  
13          know, we weren't seeing, you know, all of the pieces. I  
14          mean, we could feel that there was stuff out there, but we  
15          hadn't put it all together.

16          And so, you know, I mean, I was telling everybody, you  
17          know, keep on charging forward. This is our policy. This is  
18          agreed policy that Republicans, Democrats have all approved.

19          MR. MALINOWSKI: And before the aid was suspended, it  
20          would have been fair, perhaps, for the Ukrainian Government  
21          to share your view that the official policy was as you were  
22          representing it. Is that fair to say?

23          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Except I think that there were other  
24          emissaries, you know, perhaps sharing other things or  
25          focusing on other things that would have maybe confused

1 people.

2 MR. MALINOWSKI: But would the knowledge on the part of  
3 the Ukrainians that there were now consequences, aid was  
4 suspended, a meeting was being held up, would that not have  
5 raised the level of alarm?

6 MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yes. Yes, absolutely.

7 MR. MALINOWSKI: And so in a sense the parallel policy,  
8 no pun intended, started to trump the official policy at that  
9 point, in retrospect, based on what you know?

10 MS. YOVANOVITCH: In retrospect, yes.

11 MR. MALINOWSKI: And if you're a foreign government, and  
12 you're receiving a message from people who you believe are  
13 emissaries of the President, would you believe that if it's  
14 coming from the President, then that's what you listen to  
15 above what you may be hearing from the State Department or  
16 other agencies that, again, no pun intended, the President  
17 trumps all others?

18 MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yes.

19 MR. MALINOWSKI: Thank you.

20 THE CHAIRMAN: Eleanor Holmes Norton.

21 MS. NORTON: Madam Ambassador, I want to commend you on  
22 the way you've handled yourself here today and as Ambassador.

23 I'd really like you -- my question really goes to your  
24 role as ambassador during such change in leadership in  
25 Ukraine, whether you felt your role was changing at all

1       during that kind of upheaval in the country itself and, if  
2       so, how?

3           MS. YOVANOVITCH: You mean with regard to elections,  
4       Presidential elections?

5           MS. NORTON: No, with regard to the -- you are the  
6       ambassador. These changes are occurring during your tenure.  
7       You have to relate to not only these changes, but to changes  
8       in personnel. I'm trying to find out how you related to  
9       changes in personnel during your time as Ambassador.

10          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yes, during -- with the new Zelensky  
11       team?

12          MS. NORTON: Excuse me?

13          MS. YOVANOVITCH: With the new Presidential team?

14          MS. NORTON: Yes.

15          MS. YOVANOVITCH: So that didn't fully occur until  
16       actually the day I left, because the day I left permanently,  
17       May 20th, was the day of President Zelensky's inauguration.  
18       But, again, we could see it coming, and so you want to make  
19       sure the relationships are solid, that there is, you know,  
20       some kind of a game plan, at least, for how we're going to be  
21       engaging with the new team and so forth.

22          And so, you know, after that first meeting that I had  
23       with President Zelensky in September where I still didn't  
24       believe that Poroshenko wouldn't be the -- you know,  
25       reelected, but we started, you know, having meetings with

1       him. And in November, we started introducing him to visiting  
2       U.S. VIPs, as appropriate.

3           So when -- we've mentioned the David Hale visit. When  
4       David Hale was in town in March, we made sure that he had  
5       some time with Zelensky, because we wanted to, first of all,  
6       socialize Washington to the fact that there might be a pretty  
7       significant change; but secondly, you know, let Zelensky know  
8       that we -- you know, our foreign -- our leaders, we want our  
9       leaders to be able to meet with you, engage with you, and  
10      start that process.

11       And, you know, we had a whole team that was covering,  
12      obviously, the elections. And as Zelensky's team members  
13      became evident, people in the political section were reaching  
14      out to -- you know, to their appropriate contacts and so  
15      forth, because we want to make sure -- we have a very  
16      strong -- despite everything we've discussed today, we have a  
17      very strong bilateral relationship with Ukraine.

18       And we want to make sure that that continues, because we  
19      have huge equities in that country, you know, starting with  
20      the fact that we don't want Russia to win that war. And so,  
21      we wanted to make sure that from day one, the doors would  
22      still be open to us, as the new Zelensky government, you  
23      know, became acclimated to its new role.

24       Did that answer the question?

25       MS. NORTON: Yes. But were there discussions, specific

1 discussions of military aid from the United States to Ukraine  
2 during -- before you left, and during those changes within  
3 the country, and were there differences or was that  
4 consistent with respect to how that military aid was viewed?

5 MS. YOVANOVITCH: Right. So yes, there are constant  
6 discussions of military assistance to Ukraine, both on the  
7 American side, on the Ukrainian side, and, you know, with  
8 other international partners that also are providing security  
9 and military assistance.

10 So there's a whole process that obviously is led by DOD  
11 of consultations on these issues. Where do the Ukrainians  
12 think they need help, which one of the foreign partners could  
13 best help Ukraine with that particular request, and so forth.  
14 So that goes on pretty much all year.

15 And then, of course, there is the budget process that  
16 the Congress is in charge of, and there are, you know,  
17 multiple discussions, as you probably know better than I,  
18 about, you know, what is most appropriate, what can we do?  
19 And, you know, Members have strong views and, obviously,  
20 those views are incorporated as well.

21 MS. NORTON: Finally, were there any instructions from  
22 Washington during these changes that you were experiencing,  
23 or were you essentially left to decide for yourself how to  
24 operate as ambassador?

25 MS. YOVANOVITCH: You know, that's a really good

1       question. So it's -- you know, it's kind of an iterative  
2       process, that we're always in touch with each other. So  
3       we're -- you know, with modern communication, whether it's by  
4       email, whether it's by phone, whether it's, you know, a  
5       formal cable back to the Department, whether it's, you know,  
6       visitors coming, but we're always sharing what we're seeing,  
7       what we're thinking, what our advice is, what the possible  
8       challenges might be, how Washington can formulate the best  
9       policy to meet that challenge. And it's kind of an iterative  
10      process.

11           So we -- but, you know, I don't get to answer, you know,  
12       the specific question. It's very rare for an ambassador to  
13       get, you know, kind of a full instruction on Monday of the  
14       things you need to do that -- you know, that week. I mean,  
15       we might get an instruction to go in on a particular issue  
16       that we feel strongly about with regard to arms control or  
17       Iran or something, but usually, it's a very iterative process  
18       when it comes to bilateral affairs.

19           MS. NORTON: Well, thank you, Madam Ambassador, for your  
20       service in a very tough situation.

21           MS. YOVANOVITCH: Thank you.

22           THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Mitchell.

23           BY MR. MITCHELL:

24           Q       Madam Ambassador, are you familiar with an  
25       individual named Dmytry Firtash?

1           A    I know who he is.

2           Q    What do you know about him?

3           A    He is living in Vienna now and is fighting  
4                   extradition to the U.S. by the FBI.

5           Q    And do you know what he's been charged with in the  
6                   United States?

7           A    I think it's money laundering charges.

8           Q    Do you know if he has any sort of -- Mr. Firtash  
9                   has any sort of relationship with Mr. Parnas?

10          A    I'm not sure.

11          Q    What about with Mr. Fruman?

12          A    I'm not -- I'm not sure.

13          Q    Mr. Shokin?

14          A    Yes.

15          Q    What's their relationship?

16          A    I don't know what the relationship is, but I saw, I  
17                   think, it was last week that he testified in some court  
18                   process in Vienna.

19          Q    "He" being Mr. Shokin?

20          A    Yes.

21          Q    And do you know who represents Mr. Firtash in the  
22                   United States?

23          A    I'm not sufficiently confident to say.

24          Q    Do you know whether Victoria Toensing and Joe  
25                   diGenova represent Mr. Firtash?

1           A    I've read that in the press.

2           Q    But you have nothing -- no other knowledge other  
3         than what you've read in the press about them?

4           A    No.

5           Q    Okay. And you indicated that Mr. Firtash resides  
6         in Vienna?

7           A    Yes.

8           Q    And are you aware that Mr. Parnas and Mr. Fruman  
9         were arrested a couple of days ago at Dulles Airport with  
10        tickets to Vienna?

11          A    I read that in the news.

12          Q    And are you aware that Mr. Giuliani has also said  
13        that he had tickets to Vienna?

14          A    I wasn't aware of that.

15          Q    Are you aware of any Congressmen traveling to  
16        Vienna this year?

17          A    I'm sure lots of Congressmen travel to Vienna.

18          Q    To meet with Mr. Firtash?

19          A    That I'm not aware of.

20          Q    Now, you testified earlier that you had a  
21        conversation with Mr. Avakov in about February of 2019, I  
22        believe, which you discussed with Mr. Avakov Mr. Giuliani's  
23        activities in Ukraine. You learned about what Mr. Avakov  
24        believed Mr. Giuliani was up to. Is that correct?

25          A    Yeah, although, you know, he focused more on

1           Mr. Lutsenko and Mr. Fruman and Mr. Parnas.

2           Q     But Mr. Giuliani was also discussed during that  
3        conversation?

4           A     Yes.

5           Q     And you also indicated that you had at least one  
6        conversation with I believe a deputy of Mr. Lutsenko about  
7        the fact that Mr. Giuliani had met with Mr. Lutsenko sometime  
8        in the middle of 2018. Is that correct?

9           A     I didn't have that conversation. The Charge at the  
10      time in Ukraine had that conversation.

11          Q     And who was that?

12          A     Joseph Pennington.

13          Q     About what time period did you have that  
14      conversation with Mr. Pennington?

15          A     It would have been -- it was the week -- the week  
16      that I left. So the end of April.

17          Q     Did you have more than one conversation with  
18      Mr. Pennington or just that one about this topic?

19          A     I think on, you know, what Yenin told him,  
20      Mr. Yenin told him, just the one.

21          Q     But what about generally on the topic of  
22      Mr. Giuliani's activities in Ukraine, did you have more than  
23      one conversation with Mr. Pennington about that?

24          A     I mean, the short answer is probably. I don't  
25      recall any particular conversation that stands out. Again, I

1        tried to -- we were super busy at the embassy, because there  
2        was a Presidential election. We were covering it. We were  
3        trying to figure out how to move our policies forward in a  
4        time of change. And all of this I thought, I hoped was a  
5        distraction.

6            And so I tried to, you know, look at the media and not  
7        dwell on it too much. And my instructions to the team were  
8        full speed ahead. We have not been instructed by Washington  
9        to change our policy or activities in any way, and we need to  
10       be out there and demonstrating that we are still at work. We  
11       are still representing the American people.

12          Q        Do you recall having any conversations with Kurt  
13        Volker about Giuliani's activities in Ukraine?

14          A        No. About maybe a week, a week and a half after  
15        The Hill article, we had a conversation, but about the  
16        Donbass. And he started the conversation by saying, You  
17        know, it's going to be okay. It will all blow over. I know  
18        it's unpleasant now. But that was the extent of the  
19        conversation.

20          Q        And when you say, "it will all blow over," he was  
21        referring to the article in The Hill?

22          A        Yeah, the article, the -- you know, the tweets, the  
23        social media, the interviews, et cetera.

24          Q        And what about conversations with George Kent about  
25        Giuliani's activities in Ukraine, did you have more than one

1 conversation with Mr. Kent about that topic?

2 A Yes.

3 Q Do you recall roughly when the first time would  
4 have been when you had conversations with Mr. Kent about  
5 Giuliani's activities in Ukraine?

6 A Probably in the November-December 2018 time period,  
7 because that's when Avakov, Minister Avakov, not to me, but  
8 to embassy people, or an embassy person, said, you know, that  
9 there's something out there, she needs to be -- she, me,  
10 needs to be careful. And so, you know, the next phone  
11 conversation -- I mean, I didn't have anything specific to  
12 report except for what I just told you now.

13 Q And it sounds like you had more than one  
14 conversation with Mr. Kent about this topic?

15 A Yes.

16 Q So the first one would have been late 2018. When  
17 was the next time that you had an occasion to talk to  
18 Mr. Kent about this?

19 A Well, so the next time was probably when I was here  
20 in Washington for the Chief of Mission Conference in early  
21 January. And I saw, you know, George. So we discussed these  
22 issues. But, you know, there wasn't anything really there at  
23 that time.

24 Q That you were aware of?

25 A Yes, exactly. I mean, I didn't know at that time

1       that Mr. Lutsenko was actually in the U.S. in January to meet  
2       with Mr. Giuliani.

3           Q     So when you had this conversation with Mr. Kent in  
4       January of 2019, you knew, generally, of Mr. Giuliani's  
5       activities, but you knew a lot less then than you know now?

6           A     Yeah.

7           Q     Can you describe the nature of that conversation  
8       that you had with Mr. Kent?

9           A     Yeah. So there was, you know, as reported, that  
10      there was this -- these contacts between Giuliani and  
11      Lutsenko. That was very nebulous and I didn't have much to  
12      go on, but there was also another issue that dealt with  
13      Mr. Giuliani, where the embassy had received -- so, just  
14      backing up to explain it.

15       The embassy had received a visa application for a  
16      tourist visa from Mr. Shokin, the previous prosecutor  
17      general. And he said that he was coming to visit his  
18      children, who live in the United States. And so, the  
19      consular folks, you know, got the application, recognized the  
20      name, and believed that he was ineligible for a visa, based  
21      on his, you know, known corrupt activities.

22       And they alerted me to this. And I said, Well, what  
23      would you do if he wasn't -- if it wasn't Mr. Shokin, if it  
24      was some other businessman that we didn't recognize the name?  
25       And they said, We would refuse the visa. And so, my

1 understanding is that that's -- that that is what happened,  
2 either a formal hard refusal, or what we call a 221G, which  
3 is an administrative refusal, asking for more information.

4 The next thing we knew -- so I alerted Washington to  
5 this, that this had happened. And the next thing we knew,  
6 Mayor Giuliani was calling the White House as well as the  
7 Assistant Secretary for Consular Affairs, saying that I was  
8 blocking the visa for Mr. Shokin, and that Mr. Shokin was  
9 coming to meet him and provide information about corruption  
10 at the embassy, including my corruption.

11 Q Did you know the purported purpose of Mr. Shokin's  
12 travel to the United States at the time when you had this  
13 discussion with the consular folks about following normal  
14 protocol --

15 A No.

16 Q -- and not making any exceptions for Mr. Shokin?

17 A No. What he told -- I mean, we can only go by what  
18 a visa applicant tells us. What he told us was that he was  
19 going to -- I don't know if it's child or children, but a  
20 child, at least, in the United States, and so, we assumed  
21 that that was the truth.

22 Q And you indicated that you notified, or you alerted  
23 Washington. What do you mean by that?

24 A Well, you know, I called, again, the Deputy  
25 Assistant Secretary, George Kent, to let -- you know, since

1       he's the person who is responsible day-to-day for Ukraine  
2       policy, I think I called him to let him know that this was  
3       out there. I wasn't sure whether there would be -- I mean,  
4       what I was imagining is that maybe President Poroshenko,  
5       since they have a close relationship, might complain, or that  
6       maybe the Ambassador here might complain.

7           I mean, because I thought that since he was a man who  
8       previously held a high position and continues to know those  
9       individuals that there might be complaints, and you never  
10      want to blindside Washington. So we let them know.

11          And, again, I know that Mr. Kent talked to Assistant  
12      Secretary of State Wess Mitchell. And Wess -- Mr. Mitchell  
13      was completely supportive, that this had been the right  
14      decision.

15          And when -- you know, of course, when the calls came  
16      from Mr. Giuliani to the White House and to the Assistant  
17      Secretary for Consular Affairs, they got in touch with the  
18      European Bureau, and Mr. Mitchell, you know, held firm. I  
19      mean, it was a consular decision. The consular folks felt  
20      that they had made the right decision. And, you know, there  
21      was the added issue that, you know, basically the notorious  
22      reputation of Mr. Shokin. And, frankly, at the end of the  
23      day, he lied on his visa application.

24          Q      How did he lie?

25          A      He told us that he was going to visit a child or

1       children, but then the next thing that we know is he was  
2       really going to see Mayor Giuliani.

3           Q     And you learned that?

4           A     From Mayor Giuliani.

5           Q     Mr. Giuliani stated such?

6           A     Yeah. I mean, I didn't hear that directly,  
7       obviously, but --

8           Q     Did you have any conversations with Ambassador  
9       Sondland about Giuliani's activities in Ukraine?

10          A     The only activity I had was -- I'm sorry, the only  
11       conversation I had was after The Hill article, after the  
12       weekend of, you know, all the attacks and Hannity and  
13       everything else and the tweet from Donald Trump Jr., I called  
14       Mr. Sondland to ask him his advice of -- you know, when this  
15       appeared to be a Ukraine story, when it was Lutsenko's  
16       interview, the State Department was supportive. There was  
17       actually a visiting delegation of Congressional Members.  
18       They were very supportive and raised this in all issues, that  
19       this is not the way to treat our ambassador. I really  
20       appreciated that. But then when the story seemed to shift to  
21       the United States, then obviously it became much more  
22       delicate.

23          Q     And what did Mr. Sondland say when you talked to  
24       him about this topic?

25          A     He hadn't been aware of it, that the story had

1       shifted, and he said, you know, you need to go big or go  
2       home. You need to, you know, tweet out there that you  
3       support the President, and that all these are lies and  
4       everything else. And, you know, so, you know, I mean,  
5       obviously, that was advice. It was advice that I did not see  
6       how I could implement in my role as an Ambassador, and as a  
7       Foreign Service officer.

8           Q     Why not?

9           A     Well, for one thing, the State Department was  
10      silent. I just didn't see that there would be any advantage  
11      to publicly taking on a fight with those who were criticizing  
12      me in the United States.

13          Q     Was that your only conversation with Mr. Sondland  
14      about this?

15          A     Yes. I mean, when it was a Ukraine story, I had  
16      talked to him about it, and he was quite helpful. But, you  
17      know, when it shifted locus, then that was the only one.

18          Q     You testified earlier that Mr. Brechbuhl, I think  
19      you said, was running point on -- during the time period that  
20      you were recalled. Is that correct?

21          A     Yes.

22          Q     Did you have any conversations with Counsel  
23      Brechbuhl at any time about Mr. Giuliani's activities in  
24      Ukraine?

25          A     No, I've never met him.

1                   MR. MITCHELL: Chairman, do you have any?

2                   THE CHAIRMAN: I do. How much time do we have left?

3                   MR. STOSZ: Four minutes.

4                   THE CHAIRMAN: Four minutes.

5                   Were you aware of whether Victoria Toensing or Joseph  
6 diGenova played any role in assisting Mr. Giuliani with  
7 getting Ukraine to conduct these two political  
8 investigations?

9                   MS. YOVANOVITCH: No.

10                  THE CHAIRMAN: You mentioned that there was a rumor that  
11 the President may have joined, by phone, a meeting between  
12 Mr. Giuliani and Mr. Lutsenko. What was the time of that  
13 meeting?

14                  MS. YOVANOVITCH: That was the January 2018 meeting.

15                  THE CHAIRMAN: And where did you hear this particular  
16 rumor from?

17                  MS. YOVANOVITCH: From Mr. Yenin. And I didn't hear it  
18 directly. I heard it through Joseph Pennington, the Charge  
19 at the time. The --- I'm sorry, could you repeat the  
20 question?

21                  THE CHAIRMAN: You were telling me where you had heard  
22 that rumor from.

23                  MS. YOVANOVITCH: Oh, Mr. Yenin, the deputy -- well, he  
24 was one of the deputy prosecutors to Mr. Lutsenko and he  
25 handled international affairs.

1           THE CHAIRMAN: So this came from the Ukrainians, this  
2 information or rumor that the President may have joined this  
3 meeting by phone?

4           MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yes.

5           THE CHAIRMAN: Did you hear that from anyone else?

6           MS. YOVANOVITCH: No, I don't think so.

7           THE CHAIRMAN: Did he tell you where he had heard that  
8 from?

9           MS. YOVANOVITCH: Again, I didn't have the conversation,  
10 but I -- my understanding was he was either -- that he had  
11 heard it from Mr. Lutsenko.

12          THE CHAIRMAN: So you're saying was that Mr. Lutsenko  
13 had told him that the President had phoned into their  
14 meeting?

15          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Uh-huh.

16          THE CHAIRMAN: Is that a yes?

17          MS. YOVANOVITCH: That's a yes.

18          THE CHAIRMAN: While you were Ambassador to Ukraine, did  
19 you ever raise any concerns with the State Department about  
20 Giuliani's activities in Ukraine?

21          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Well, you know, there was a series of  
22 conversations, as we learned more and more. And I don't know  
23 if that constitutes raising concerns. I would say it does  
24 constitute raising concerns, but it's not like I sent in a  
25 formal cable outlining everything. It felt very -- very

1 sensitive and very political.

2 THE CHAIRMAN: And who did you express those concerns  
3 with?

4 MS. YOVANOVITCH: The European Bureau.

5 THE CHAIRMAN: And who in particular?

6 MS. YOVANOVITCH: George Kent; Phil Reeker, when he came  
7 on board.

8 THE CHAIRMAN: And what was their response when you  
9 raised the concerns that Giuliani was involved in activities  
10 that may be at odds with U.S. policy?

11 MS. YOVANOVITCH: Well, they were concerned too.

12 THE CHAIRMAN: And how did they express their concerns  
13 to you?

14 MS. YOVANOVITCH: I mean, I don't really know how to  
15 answer that question. I mean, it was -- it was kind of a  
16 what are you hearing, what do you think is happening? You  
17 know, it was that kind of a conversation.

18 THE CHAIRMAN: And one last question before I yield to  
19 the minority. Did anyone at the State Department try to stop  
20 those efforts?

21 MS. YOVANOVITCH: I don't think so. I don't think they  
22 felt they could.

23 THE CHAIRMAN: Do you want to take a break before we --

24 MR. ROBBINS: Yes. I wonder if I can inquire how much  
25 longer we're going tonight?

1           THE CHAIRMAN: Let me ask the minority, do you expect  
2        you'll use the entire 45 minutes? Okay. We have a few more  
3        questions I think on our side. So would you like to take a  
4        break?

5           MR. ROBBINS: Well, among other things, I've got to plan  
6        a trip back to New York. So are we going past 7 o'clock  
7        tonight?

8           THE CHAIRMAN: Yeah. I think we are, yeah. All right,  
9        let's take a 10-minute break.

10          [Recess.]

11          THE CHAIRMAN: Okay, let's go back on the record, and  
12        the time is with the minority.

13          MR. CASTOR: Thank you.

14          BY MR. CASTOR:

15          Q        Ambassador, once again, we want to you know,  
16        restate our appreciation for your participation here today as  
17        well as your 30-plus year career. We value your service and  
18        we thank you for it.

19          The fact that we're asking questions here today and some  
20        of the questions, you know, may or may not be the questions  
21        you'd like to be talking about here today, we're doing our  
22        best to try to find the facts, but thank you again for your  
23        service, and we have the utmost respect for your career and  
24        just wanted to officially say that to you.

25          A        Thank you.

1           Q     In your February meeting with Minister Avakov, what  
2     specific issues did he say Mr. Giuliani was trying to raise  
3     with him?

4           A     He said that Mr. Giuliani wanted to meet him.

5           Q     And Avakov was trying to avoid that meeting?

6           A     Yes.

7           Q     And did he ever come to learn what Giuliani was  
8     trying to impart to him at that meeting?

9           A     I don't believe he did. I think he assumed it  
10    had -- it was related to Mr. Lutsenko's work with Mr.  
11    Giuliani, because it was Mr. Lutsenko and Mr. Fruman and  
12    Parnas who were trying to persuade Mr. Avakov to meet with  
13    Mr. Giuliani.

14          Q     To your knowledge, was Mr. Avakov, was he  
15    anti-Trump?

16          A     I think he was pro-Avakov.

17          Q     Okay. He had some -- he had some negative  
18    statements in the media about the President. Are you aware  
19    of that?

20          A     No. I mean, maybe I was at the time, but it  
21    hasn't -- it didn't register with me.

22          Q     You didn't especially identify him as an anti-Trump  
23    person?

24          A     I think he is a very pragmatic man.

25          Q     He asserted on Twitter the President was diagnosed

as a dangerous misfit. Did you have any awareness of that?

2 A No. When did he do that?

3 [Exhibit No. 5]

4 was marked for identification.]

5 BY MR. CASTOR:

6 Q This is in a Facebook post. I have a Politico  
7 article here. Maybe it's just helpful if I pass it around.  
8 I'll mark it as exhibit 5. I got copies. This is a Politico  
9 article from January 2017, so this is the beginning of your  
10 term. Have you ever seen this article before?

11           A     I don't know. I mean, I can't read through it, and  
12        I'm not sure I would remember from early 2017.

13 Q Okay. It just -- it goes through various efforts  
14 of Ukrainians that were just trying to sabotage Trump, and  
15 Avakov is quoted on page 14: Ukrainian's Minister of  
16 Internal Affairs, Arsen Avakov, piled on, trashing Trump on  
17 Twitter in July as, quote, "a clown and asserting that Trump  
18 is, quote, an even bigger danger to the U.S. than terrorism."

19 The subsequent paragraph talks about the Facebook post,  
20 but does this refresh any of your recollection? Did you  
21 realize that he was as hotly anti-Trump as these comments?

22           A     As I said, I mean, this obviously was before I  
23         arrived in Ukraine, and so, I might have seen it at the time.  
24         But during -- during my time in Ukraine, I mean, Avakov is a  
25         very pragmatic man. He's looking for partnerships. If the

1       President of the United States is Donald Trump, he's going to  
2       work with Donald Trump. If it is you, he's going to work  
3       with you, and he's going to find partnerships and ways to  
4       make that work.

5           Q     This Politico report talks about somebody by the  
6       name of Alexandra Chalupa, if I'm pronouncing that name  
7       correctly. Did you ever hear of her before?

8           A     Yeah.

9           Q     What do you know about her?

10          A     Only what is in the press.

11          Q     Have you ever met her?

12          A     No, or at least to the best of my knowledge, I  
13       haven't met her, because, I mean, press also reported that  
14       she worked at the Ukrainian Embassy. So I've been obviously  
15       to the Ukrainian Embassy here, and I may have met her at an  
16       event or something.

17          Q     Do you know about any efforts that she undertook to  
18       work with the Ukrainian Embassy to further negative  
19       information about the now-President Trump?

20          A     All I know is what I've read in the media.

21          Q     Has Chalupa ever come up at the embassy in your  
22       discussions at post?

23          A     No, I don't think so.

24          Q     On page 13 of this report, it talks about the  
25       Ukrainian Ambassador to the U.S., Chaly, publishing an op-ed

1       chastising the President. Does that ring any bells? Do you  
2       have any familiarity with that?

3           A     Where does it say that?

4           Q     It's on page 13 of 18.

5           A     Uh-huh.

6           Q     The bottom paragraph: The Ambassador Chaly penned  
7       an op-ed for The Hill in which he chastised Trump for a  
8       confusing series of statements?

9           A     Yeah, I do remember the op-ed.

10          Q     Okay. What do you know about Ambassador Chaly's  
11       perspective on President Trump?

12          A     Well, I think my recollection of the op-ed was that  
13       he was concerned about some statements that candidate Trump  
14       at the time had made with regard to, you know, whether Crimea  
15       was Russian or Ukrainian. And so, I think that was the  
16       reason for the op-ed. I mean, obviously, this is a very  
17       sensitive issue for the Ukrainians.

18          Q     The story goes on to just talk about how the  
19       Ukrainian officials were, in fact, supporting Hillary  
20       Clinton, not President Trump. Is that a fair assessment of  
21       Ukrainian officials at the time, during the 2016 period  
22       leading up to the election?

23          A     I mean, when you say supporting Hillary Clinton, I  
24       mean, I've read these articles, but, you know, I'm not sure  
25       that -- I mean, I can't judge the validity of what was

1           happening here in the United States.

2           Q     Fair enough. We spoke a couple different times  
3           about the communication you had with George Kent.

4           A     Uh-huh.

5           Q     And I thought it might be helpful to just go  
6           through the whole episode again from beginning to end, where  
7           you could just tell us exactly what happened, where it  
8           happened, anything you remember about that communication?

9           A     I don't think I have anything to add to what I've  
10          told you previously.

11          Q     So I guess we're asking you to just recount it  
12          again, because it came up during the questioning of a couple  
13          different Members and at a couple different times, and we're  
14          just trying to get a full accounting of it, if we may.

15          THE CHAIRMAN: Can I just suggest, because it's getting  
16          late, that she has talked about this quite a lot. If you  
17          have a specific question, I think, rather than having her  
18          repeat everything she's already said.

19          MR. MEADOWS: Mr. Chairman, with all due respect, we  
20          don't tell you how to ask questions and we haven't all day.  
21          And I don't think when it's the minority's time, it is  
22          appropriate, Mr. Chairman, to instruct us on how to ask  
23          questions.

24          THE CHAIRMAN: I'm making a recommendation to my  
25          colleague. He can follow it or not follow it. And the

1       witness can say she's already answered the question if she  
2       wishes or she can go through it all over again, but in the  
3       interest of time -- it's been a long day for the  
4       Ambassador -- I'm recommending that we not simply retread  
5       ground we've already covered.

6                    MR. JORDAN: Ambassador, what specifically did Mr. Kent  
7       tell you about the phone call between President Zelensky and  
8       President Trump?

9                    MR. ROBBINS: I think we've covered this and I'll  
10      instruct the witness not to answer it yet another time.

11                  MR. MEADOWS: Your objection, Counselor, is based on  
12      what? I mean, I'm just telling you, based on the transcripts  
13      that we have to date, it is unclear exactly what the full  
14      scope of her testimony is.

15                  And so, I would suggest that there's been a lot of  
16      redundant questions here by the majority, and if you will  
17      just allow us to clarify, we want to make sure that we don't  
18      have the ambassador's words tangled up with our  
19      understanding.

20                  MR. ROBBINS: Yeah. I don't accept the premise that --  
21      I'm sorry, I wasn't quite finished. I don't accept the  
22      premise that the witness needs to clarify anything. I don't  
23      accept the premise that there have been lots of redundant  
24      questions.

25                  And the predicate of the question that was pending is, I

1 know you've said this several times, but just so I can hear  
2 it one more time. That sounds like a question that lawyers  
3 call -- I'm not done.

4 MR. MEADOWS: Well, I'm not done either. We can ask it  
5 in a different way, Counselor, if that's what we need to do.

6 MR. ROBBINS: All right. Well, I've stated my objection  
7 and the objection is pending, and I'll let the chairman rule  
8 as he wishes.

9 MR. JORDAN: Ambassador, when I asked you the question  
10 earlier, you said he did not talk to you about the fact that  
11 you were mentioned in the call. So we know that wasn't what  
12 happened. And all we're asking is -- we know that wasn't  
13 discussed. So all we're asking is, what was specifically  
14 discussed?

15 If it wasn't -- I think many people would think the  
16 first thing he would tell you is, Hey, there was a call  
17 between President Trump and President Zelensky, and you were  
18 mentioned in the call. That would seem to me to be the most  
19 obvious thing. But you told me directly a couple hours ago  
20 that that was not the case. He did not tell you that you  
21 were mentioned in the call. So all we're asking is, what did  
22 he say specifically about the call?

23 MR. ROBBINS: You can answer it one more time and that's  
24 it.

25 MS. YOVANOVITCH: The reason I was so emphatic about the

1 fact that he didn't say that, that I was featured in this  
2 phone call, is that I would have remembered that. I mean, I  
3 can tell you that for sure. So --

4 MR. JORDAN: And if he knew that, Ambassador, you would  
5 have thought Mr. Kent would have probably told you that first  
6 thing, right?

7 MS. YOVANOVITCH: I think he would have told me.

8 MR. JORDAN: Okay. So all we're asking is, he made a  
9 point to talk to you about the call, but he didn't tell you  
10 the most obvious thing. Maybe he didn't know that, I don't  
11 know. So what did he tell you?

12 MS. YOVANOVITCH: So, you know, he -- this was a  
13 relatively short conversation. He said that the two  
14 Presidents had spoken. I said, good, because, you know,  
15 that's the sort of thing you always want, right, to  
16 strengthen a bilateral relationship, that kind of leadership  
17 engagement.

18 And what I recall him saying is that Trump had --  
19 President Trump had asked for -- you know, for some  
20 assistance on the investigations, and that President Zelensky  
21 had said that, you know, all of the concerns that President  
22 Trump had, that happened, you know, in the previous  
23 administration and this was a new team and that he was going  
24 to be having his own prosecutor general. That's what I  
25 recall of the conversation.

1 MR. JORDAN: Okay, thank you.

2 MR. CASTOR: Mr. Perry had some questions.

3 MR. PERRY: Thank you.

4 Ambassador Yovanovitch, I want to talk to you a little  
5 bit about social media activities. During your tenure in  
6 Ukraine, did your -- you talked about this a little bit, but  
7 I'm -- did your staff monitor social media accounts unrelated  
8 to visa applications? And I know you said you didn't get  
9 into the nuts and bolts of it, but --

10                   MR. ROBBINS: May I just ask -- she'll answer the  
11                   question. I just want to understand what the Member means by  
12                   the word "monitor," because there have been some stories  
13                   floating around the internet suggesting all kinds of  
14                   surreptitious monitoring, and that word can --

15 MR. PERRY: I'm not going to use "surreptitious."

16                   MR. ROBBINS: I understand, but the word connotes a  
17                   number of different kinds of things, and I just want to be  
18                   sure that the record is clear as to what the Member means  
19                   when he uses the word "monitor."

20 MR. PERRY: Well, I would ask the ambassador to let us  
21 know what the scope of their monitoring was, but to me it  
22 would mean that you check on a regular basis the accounts and  
23 the activities of certain individuals that you're interested  
24 in.

25 MR. ROBBINS: That's fair enough. Please.

1           MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yeah. I think -- I mean, that's what  
2       our press section did on issues that were of, you know,  
3       interest to the Ukraine-U.S. relationship, to other related  
4       issues. Obviously, when this whole set of issues came up, we  
5       were also following that.

6           I don't know exactly -- you know, discuss what the word  
7       "monitor" is and so forth. I don't know exactly how they --  
8       how the press team did it, but I think they -- they knew who  
9       was most active, for example, on issues of, say, NATO  
10      membership, or IMF issues, et cetera, that would have been of  
11      interest. And I think over time, these things, you know, who  
12      we would follow -- I think that's the word we use -- might  
13      change over time, because an issue becomes less interesting  
14      over time for whatever reason.

15          MR. PERRY: Okay, let me ask you this: Who in the press  
16      office that would do this following or monitoring should we  
17      be interested in talking to, you know, to find out the scope?  
18      Is there a person that we can address that to, these  
19      questions?

20          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Well, I guess I would say, you know,  
21      the head of the section.

22          MR. PERRY: You don't know the name?

23          MS. YOVANOVITCH: I'm sorry, I'm getting tired, but I  
24      will remember by the end of this.

25          MR. PERRY: Do you know how they selected the specific

1       people -- and I think you just said, but I want to clarify --  
2       based on the subject they might be covering, whether it was  
3       the IMF or -- is that how they selected the individuals?

4           MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yeah. So we have -- you know, the  
5       press section is obviously very integrated into the rest of  
6       the work of the embassy. So they know what is of interest to  
7       us, you know, whether it's somebody in the econ section, the  
8       defense attache, somebody else. And so, they will, you  
9       know -- is it FOX News that's covering them most? Is it the  
10      New York Times? And so, they will -- you know, again, the  
11      term I know is "follow," but I don't precisely know what that  
12      means. They will follow those accounts, whether it's  
13      Facebook, whether it's Twitter or whatever.

14           MR. PERRY: Okay. So would that include following  
15      Americans?

16           MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yeah. I mean, many of -- you know,  
17      New York Times, FOX.

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1 [6:47 p.m.]

2 MR. PERRY: Let me -- I'm going to give you a list of  
3 names, and you can just say yes or no, if you know.

4 Did your staff request assistance from any D.C. bureau  
5 to monitor or follow the social media account of Jack  
6 Prezobiak (ph)?

7 MS. YOVANOVITCH: I don't know.

8 MR. PERRY: Donald Trump, Jr.?

9 MS. YOVANOVITCH: I'm not into that level of detail in  
10 terms of --

11 MR. PERRY: I'm just going to, if you don't mind, I'm  
12 going to ask you a list of names. You can say, I don't know,  
13 no, yes, but I want to go through the list of names.

14 So you said, "I don't know" to Donald Trump, Jr., right?

15 MS. YOVANOVITCH: Uh-huh.

16 MR. PERRY: Laura Ingraham.

17 MS. YOVANOVITCH: I don't know.

18 MR. PERRY: Sean Hannity.

19 MS. YOVANOVITCH: I don't know.

20 MR. PERRY: Michael McFaul.

21 MS. YOVANOVITCH: I don't know.

22 MR. PERRY: Dan Bongino.

23 MS. YOVANOVITCH: I don't know.

24 MR. PERRY: Ryan Sevittera (ph).

25 MS. YOVANOVITCH: I don't know.

1           MR. PERRY: Rudy Giuliani.  
2           MS. YOVANOVITCH: Don't know.  
3           MR. PERRY: Sebastian Gorka.  
4           MS. YOVANOVITCH: Don't know.  
5           MR. PERRY: John Solomon. I'm getting to the end.  
6           MS. YOVANOVITCH: Okay. Don't know.  
7           MR. PERRY: Lou Dobbs.  
8           MS. YOVANOVITCH: No, I don't know.  
9           MR. PERRY: Pam Gellar.  
10          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Pam Gellar?  
11          MR. PERRY: Pam Gellar.  
12          MS. YOVANOVITCH: No.  
13          MR. PERRY: Sara Carter.  
14          MS. YOVANOVITCH: No. I mean, I don't know.  
15          MR. PERRY: Okay. Do you know if -- or did you promote  
16         the use of any following --  
17          MS. YOVANOVITCH: And can I -- excuse me, sir.  
18          MR. PERRY: Yes, ma'am.  
19          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Can I just say that just because I  
20         don't know doesn't mean that a request wasn't made. There's,  
21         you know, lots of people doing this --  
22          MR. PERRY: And I understand that. We're just trying  
23         to -- just trying to establish who knew what at what level  
24         and so on and so forth so we have a full view of what was  
25         happening and why it was happening. It's not meant to be

1       intrusive or invasive or derogatory or anything like that.  
2       We're just -- and like I said, that's why I asked, too, if  
3       not you, who would know this information, because we're going  
4       to have to find out.

5           Do you know if you promoted the use of the following  
6       search terms intersecting with the above people:  
7       Yovanovitch, Ukraine ambassador, Ukraine Soros, or Ukraine  
8       Biden?

9           And I'm just going to -- well, I'm going to let you  
10      answer. Do you know if that was included in the mechanics of  
11      the search intersection?

12       MS. YOVANOVITCH: No, I don't know.

13       MR. PERRY: Okay. Can you just explain how any of this  
14      following or searching would be related to your official  
15      duties as ambassador?

16       MR. ROBBINS: That, of course, assumes that any of that  
17      happened.

18       MR. PERRY: Okay.

19       MR. ROBBINS: Right? So we don't know that and neither  
20      does she. She already told you that, right?

21       MR. PERRY: Well, she's told me she didn't know.

22       MR. ROBBINS: Right. So how is she going to possibly  
23      know the answer to that question?

24       MR. PERRY: I'm not going to put any words in her mouth  
25      or thoughts in her mind. I'm just asking the question, sir.

1           All right. Did you discuss any of this activity with  
2 George Kent?

3           MS. YOVANOVITCH: I don't know how to answer that  
4 question, because I wasn't involved in requesting, you know,  
5 these kinds of --

6           MR. PERRY: Well, it seems to me if -- you either  
7 weren't involved or it wasn't happening, or if it was  
8 happening and you didn't know, then there would be no reason  
9 for you to discuss it, but so --

10          MS. YOVANOVITCH: So let me just go back to your  
11 previous conversation, where I did -- you know, when my staff  
12 -- because you put this in the context of the embassy  
13 requesting help --

14          MR. PERRY: Right.

15          MS. YOVANOVITCH: -- from Washington. So when that  
16 help -- and I don't know whether this is exactly what they  
17 were requesting or whether it was something else or in  
18 addition to, but when they didn't get the support they felt  
19 they needed --

20          MR. PERRY: The assistance.

21          MS. YOVANOVITCH: -- I -- you know, they told me. And  
22 so I talked to George about that. But that level of detail  
23 and whether that is exactly the same thing, I cannot --

24          MR. PERRY: Okay. Fair enough. But you did ask main  
25 State Department resources be made available on a 24/7 basis

1       for following or monitoring?

2           MS. YOVANOVITCH: I don't recall putting it quite like  
3           that. The conversations we --

4           MR. PERRY: How would you put it?

5           MS. YOVANOVITCH: Well, what we were saying is because  
6           of the 7-hour time difference, that they could pick up when  
7           we went home type thing.

8           MR. PERRY: Okay. Let me ask you a couple other  
9           questions that are unrelated to the social monitoring or  
10          following.

11          Did you or anyone on your staff request unmasking of any  
12          individuals?

13          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Is that a technical term?

14          MR. PERRY: Unmasking. You're not familiar?

15          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Sorry.

16          MR. PERRY: Okay. Is there a better way to describe  
17          that?

18          MS. YOVANOVITCH: What does it mean?

19          MR. PERRY: If someone is -- their identity is unknown,  
20          you can make a -- and their -- and that identity is involved  
21          in official classified conversations, then there can be a  
22          request be made to see who that individual is, because they  
23          won't be listed by name in the description, it will be listed  
24          a different way, and so you can ask.

25          MR. BITAR: I'm sorry. One administrative matter. This

1       is an unclassified briefing, so I just want to make that  
2       clear. If your question relates to unmasking of  
3       intelligence-related products or reports, that's going to be  
4       a separate matter that we --

5            MR. PERRY: Okay. I'm asking about unmasking of any  
6       kind, so not necessarily related to --

7            MR. MEADOWS: But it could include that.

8            MR. PERRY: It could include that.

9            MR. MEADOWS: And that wouldn't be classified.

10          THE CHAIRMAN: I don't think there is such a term of art  
11       apart from intelligence products, so --

12          MR. MEADOWS: Yeah, but we're not asking who,  
13       Mr. Chairman. We're just asking if the request was made, and  
14       so I don't know how that would be classified. It appears  
15       that she doesn't know anything about that, but the very fact  
16       that she asked is not classified unless we're talking about  
17       whom she asked to have unmasked.

18          THE CHAIRMAN: Well, I think she said she's not even  
19       familiar with that term.

20          MR. MEADOWS: Well, let her answer. But, I mean --

21          THE CHAIRMAN: As long as it doesn't involve anything in  
22       the classified realm, you certainly may answer if you know.

23          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Okay. So --

24          MR. MEADOWS: You can answer. He's got to run.

25          MR. PERRY: I'll be back.

1 MS. YOVANOVITCH: Okay.

2 MR. PERRY: Sorry. Thank you.

3 MR. MEADOWS: It's nothing you said.

4 MR. CASTOR: Welcome to Congress.

5 MS. YOVANOVITCH: So I got lost a little bit in the  
6 conversation. Are we talking about --

7 MR. GOLDMAN: Let's ask him to repeat it. Oh.

8 MR. MEADOWS: You can ask the pecans.

9 MS. YOVANOVITCH: Would you mind repeating the question?  
10 Or -- we can't. Okay. So --

11 MR. MEADOWS: So I think the gentleman from Pennsylvania  
12 was talking about in general terms as it relates to  
13 monitoring, was there any -- let me phrase it this way.

14 Was there any special request to look at potential  
15 conversations that may not be normally monitored through open  
16 source methods? How about that?

17 MS. YOVANOVITCH: So it sounds --

18 MR. MEADOWS: Is that qualified enough?

19 THE CHAIRMAN: If you're just talking about what is the  
20 press section following in terms of what newspapers and what  
21 columns, whatever, I don't really think that's generally  
22 described as monitoring, but the witness can certainly answer  
23 to the best of her ability.

24 MS. YOVANOVITCH: So, you know, the press section just  
25 by its very name, it's all unclassified stuff, right? And

1       all the press section did was look at, you know, what does  
2       The New York Times publish, The Wall Street Journal publish  
3       about Ukraine or U.S. bilateral relations with Ukraine, that  
4       sort of thing.

5           And now with the advent of social media, obviously there  
6       are many other kinds of outlets that are reviewed for, you  
7       know, what's out there in the news, what do we know, what do  
8       we need to take action on, et cetera.

9           MR. MEADOWS: But in the nonclassified realm. Is that  
10       what you're saying?

11           MS. YOVANOVITCH: It's all unclassified. It's press,  
12       yes. It's press review.

13           MR. MEADOWS: Right. So let me follow up, then, on one  
14       thing. This extraordinary activity that you asked the State  
15       Department to do, the 24/7, or however you want to classify  
16       it, when did that happen?

17           MR. ROBBINS: Okay. So I want to object to the  
18       insertion of the word "extraordinary" as if it's something  
19       not routine in some respect.

20           MR. MEADOWS: Well, the additional request -- I'll  
21       rephrase it, counselor -- the additional request that she  
22       made of the State Department to provide additional resources  
23       to monitor social media of certain individuals, when was that  
24       made?

25           MS. YOVANOVITCH: I'm not sure. At some --

1           MR. MEADOWS: Was it made after the Hill article that --

2           MS. YOVANOVITCH: At some point after that, yes.

3           MR. MEADOWS: So was it directly related to the negative  
4 publicity that you were getting this request?

5           MS. YOVANOVITCH: It was related to the news blowing up  
6 around us.

7           MR. MEADOWS: Yeah. It seemed to relate all to the  
8 negative stories about you and the request for additional  
9 resources, is what it appeared. So you're saying the timing  
10 came after the Hill article?

11          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Uh-huh.

12          MR. MEADOWS: All right. I'll yield back.

13          MR. ZELDIN: I have one quick question, hopefully.

14          Earlier on, answering questions from the majority with  
15 regards to the July 25th call, you testified that it is your  
16 belief that President Trump was referring to Lutsenko. Do  
17 you know, in fact, he was referring to Lutsenko and not  
18 Shokin on that phone call?

19          MS. YOVANOVITCH: No.

20           BY MR. CASTOR:

21          Q      Hello again. Our round ends at 7:11, in case  
22 you're looking at the clock.

23          Is it fair to say -- it's been related to us that at all  
24 times U.S. officials involved in this matter have acted with  
25 the highest degree of personal and professional integrity and

1       with the best interests of the United States. Is that  
2 something you can --

3           A     Which matter?

4           Q     The matter we're here discussing, about the, you  
5 know, the call and the subsequent activities.

6           A     So the July 25th call?

7           Q     Uh-huh.

8           A     Um --

9           Q     And the relationship with Zelensky and the various,  
10 you know, efforts to, you know, bring him in for a White  
11 House meeting, some of the back and forth that there has been  
12 with the statement that occurred after you left.

13          THE CHAIRMAN: So clarification, counsel. Are you  
14 asking the witness if --

15          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yeah. I'm not --

16          THE CHAIRMAN: -- she thinks that what took place on the  
17 call was appropriate?

18          MR. CASTOR: Subsequent to the call.

19          THE CHAIRMAN: Subsequent to the call? I'm not sure  
20 what you're asking, and I'm not sure the witness understands  
21 what you're asking, either.

22          MR. CASTOR: You know, Ambassador Volker testified about  
23 the difficulties that Rudy Giuliani presented, you know, in  
24 U.S.-Ukrainian relations, but he was very clear that at all  
25 times, he told us, U.S. officials acted with the highest

1       degree of personal and professional integrity.

2           Is that something that you would agree with, based on  
3       the facts that you have at your disposal?

4           MS. YOVANOVITCH: I would say two things. In my  
5       dealings with -- in my dealings with Kurt Volker, and we are  
6       friends as well as colleagues, over the last 30-something  
7       years, I have -- I consider him to be a man of honor and  
8       somebody who's a brilliant diplomat. And, you know, I think  
9       he is working in the interests of our country.

10          With regard to the specific question that you are  
11       asking, I just -- you know, I wasn't there. I don't have the  
12       knowledge to be able to address it properly.

13          MR. CASTOR: But you think the individuals at the --  
14       [Discussion off the record.]

15           BY MR. CASTOR:

16          Q       Ambassador Volker mentioned the fact that to the  
17       extent there are corrupt Ukrainians and the United States is  
18       advocating for the Ukraine to investigate themselves, that  
19       certainly would be an appropriate initiative for U.S.  
20       officials to advocate for. Is that right?

21          A       If that's what took place.

22          Q       Have you ever used WhatsApp?

23          A       Yes.

24          Q       Is that a texting app? Is that something that's  
25       used by diplomats to communicate with -- back and forth

1           across the overseas communications?

2           A     I mean, it's used by lots of people.

3           Q     Okay. So you don't attach a negative connotation  
4               to anybody that uses WhatsApp?

5           A     No.

6           Q     That's a legitimate app to use?

7           A     So do you want to be more specific in your  
8               question?

9           Q     Well, the Federal Records Act -- in compliance with  
10          the Federal Records Act, you know, texting over WhatsApp  
11          presents some unique issues for those that are, you know,  
12          concerned about -- from a Federal Records Act perspective.

13          A     In terms of retention of documents?

14          Q     Yes.

15          A     Well, we were told that we needed to -- and forgive  
16          me, you know, I don't know all the technical terms -- but  
17          that we needed to kind of upload our texts to the cloud. And  
18          I got a special, I don't know what the right word is, but it  
19          was somehow done for me.

20           So, you know, my belief is based on, you know, the  
21          conversations when this first came out, that we needed to  
22          retain our texts, I mean, I think that that was being done  
23          for me and my texts are somewhere safe.

24          Q     So assuming people are keeping their texts, the use  
25          of WhatsApp is completely appropriate, as far as you know?

1           A     Yeah. That's what the State Department told us. I  
2     mean, if I could just clarify, assuming it's not confidential  
3     or classified.

4           MR. CASTOR: Mr. Jordan, are you ready?

5                   BY MR. CASTOR:

6           Q     On Monday, we're going to be hearing from Fiona  
7     Hill.

8           A     On Monday?

9           Q     Uh-huh. And I just -- as we try to prepare for  
10    that interview, what do you think are the types of issues  
11    Dr. Hill can contribute to this discussion?

12          A     Well, she is -- she was the director, obviously, as  
13    you know, of the National Security Council, the European  
14    division at the -- and she is a well known expert not only in  
15    the region, but on Russia itself, and has written a landmark  
16    book on President Putin.

17          So she would obviously have a lot of firsthand knowledge  
18    about our relations and what took place with regard to  
19    Russia, with regard to Ukraine, and other European countries.

20          Q     How frequently did you speak with her in your --

21          A     Not that -- not that often.

22          Q     Not that often?

23          A     Yeah. I mean, you know, I would call on her when I  
24    was in Washington. You know, she would run some of the NSC  
25    meetings. And sometimes she was on emails as well, you know,

1       in the back and forth with Washington.

2           Q     Now, do you have any personal knowledge or direct  
3       information regarding why the President curtailed your term?

4           A     Only what Deputy Secretary of State Sullivan told  
5       me.

6           Q     And you don't know if it actually was the  
7       President, then, that was responsible for curtailing your  
8       tour?

9           A     Well, I guess I assumed that the deputy secretary  
10      was telling the truth.

11          MR. CASTOR: That's all I have. Does anybody --

12          MR. MEADOWS: Yeah. Just one.

13           There was a bicameral, bipartisan codel to the Ukraine,  
14       I think, where they had the honor of your presence. And the  
15       way it was characterized by some of my colleagues was that  
16       they believed that you had a pro-Poroshenko mindset. Would  
17       you agree with that characterization or disagree with it?

18          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Well, that's really interesting.

19           I thought that he was -- we could obviously continue to  
20       work with him, but it was clear that he was unpopular, and we  
21       did not believe at that time that he was going to be  
22       reelected president.

23           What I would also say, though, is that with regard to  
24       Zelensky, who was the other top candidate there, we didn't  
25       know what kind of a President he was going to be. He'd never

1 held elective office. So, you know, there was a big question  
2 mark there. You know, he's very engaging, he, you know, said  
3 many of the right things, but we just didn't know.

4 MR. MEADOWS: The way it was characterized to me -- and  
5 you correct this, because, obviously, I'm just trying to  
6 figure out how accurate that is -- the way it was  
7 characterized to me was that you believed that the United  
8 States had made a substantial investment in the existing  
9 President, and that it was a known quantity, and that it was  
10 in the U.S. best interests if he were to remain as President,  
11 because of the unknown nature of Mr. Zelensky.

12 Would you agree with that?

13 MS. YOVANOVITCH: Not -- no. Not --

14 MR. MEADOWS: What part would you disagree with?

15 MS. YOVANOVITCH: I -- I thought that over time -- in  
16 the beginning, President Poroshenko was, as everybody was,  
17 was really driven by the inspiration of the Revolution of  
18 Dignity. And they moved on reforms and so forth in part  
19 because they were inspired, in part because their backs were  
20 up against the wall, there's this war with Russia, they were  
21 going bankrupt, and we were conditioning our assistance that  
22 they had to do certain things in order to receive the money  
23 that they needed to keep the country afloat.

24 So they were desperate, they were scared that if they  
25 didn't take action people would turn against them again, and

1       I think they were inspired. So there were many, many  
2       motivations.

3           But as time passed and the country, you know, got a  
4       little bit of breathing space, they weren't, you know,  
5       fearing that they were going to go bankrupt, things were  
6       getting a little bit better, I think that space which, you  
7       know, in any country is never, you know, forever, the space  
8       for making reform, the kinds of things that we thought were  
9       best for Ukraine and our bilateral relationship with Ukraine  
10      and the reforms the Ukrainian people wanted, that space got  
11      narrower and it was harder to move things forward.

12       MR. MEADOWS: So it would be fair to say that my  
13      colleagues were wrong, in that you were more in the  
14      pro-Zelensky camp?

15       MS. YOVANOVITCH: Well, I would never want to say that a  
16      Member of Congress is wrong, but --

17       MR. MEADOWS: I can, but go ahead.

18       MS. YOVANOVITCH: But I -- you know, it's interesting to  
19      see how --

20       MR. MEADOWS: So you were more pro-Zelensky?

21       MS. YOVANOVITCH: I was more, you know, here is the  
22      analysis. We don't get to vote in this election.

23       MR. MEADOWS: Yeah, but you have an opinion, Ambassador.  
24      Come on. You've been here 30 years. You get paid to give  
25      your opinion from a foreign ops standpoint.

1           So you had no opinion on who the President -- what would  
2       be in the best interests of the United States, which  
3       President would be the best fit for us going forward? You  
4       had no opinion?

5           MS. YOVANOVITCH: So I'll answer it with two sentences.

6           I thought we could work with any of the top three  
7       candidates. I think I said that before, and I continue to  
8       believe that.

9           I thought that Poroshenko's time was up, because the  
10      Ukrainian people were so angry with him, and that we needed  
11      to make the best efforts we could to work with Zelensky so  
12      that it would be a strong bilateral relationship.

13           MR. MEADOWS: So let me finish with this last question,  
14       then. So there was never a communication from you to anyone  
15       else in the State Department that you can recall where you  
16       said it would -- where you indicated that it was not better  
17       for the United States that Poroshenko would stay in office?  
18       You never communicated that to anybody at the State  
19       Department?

20           MS. YOVANOVITCH: I mean --

21           MR. MEADOWS: That you can recall.

22           MS. YOVANOVITCH: When?

23           MR. MEADOWS: Well, prior to his election.

24           MS. YOVANOVITCH: I mean, there were -- there was a lot  
25       of discussion. Who are these people? What would be the

1       best for Ukraine? Best for us? How do we move the  
2       relationship forward? And so forth.

3           I think, you know, from a conservative point of view, I  
4       think there were a number of people who thought that we know  
5       Poroshenko, we are comfortable with him, et cetera.

6           MR. MEADOWS: And that's exactly my point. That's what  
7       my colleagues were saying.

8           So was that the prevailing thought that you had and  
9       others had, so --

10          MS. YOVANOVITCH: I don't think from the embassy point  
11       of view, because we could see that his number was up.

12          And so from our point of view, I mean, one just has to  
13       go with what you can see is going to happen and position the  
14       United States in the best way possible.

15          MR. JORDAN. Ambassador, which of the three top  
16       candidates were viewed as the reformer and more of the  
17       outsider?

18          MS. YOVANOVITCH: I think President Zelensky was viewed  
19       as the outsider, but also as the reformer.

20          MR. JORDAN. That's consistent with what Special Envoy  
21       Volker told us, that he was the reformer. And as the  
22       reformer, he would be viewed as the one most likely, as you  
23       said in your statement, that would be focused on making -- or  
24       ending corruption would be his number one priority. Is that  
25       fair to say as well?

1 MS. YOVANOVITCH: That's what he said his platform was.

2 MR. JORDAN. Okay. So he's the outsider, he's the  
3 reformer, and his entire campaign was about ending corruption  
4 in Ukraine?

5 MS. YOVANOVITCH: And bringing piece to the Donbass.

6 MR. JORDAN. Thank you.

7 THE CHAIRMAN: We are almost to the end. This is the  
8 lightning round. We just have a few more questions.

9 MS. YOVANOVITCH: Okay.

10 THE CHAIRMAN: And then hopefully we'll be done.

11 My colleagues in the minority asked you quite a bit  
12 about the press operation.

13 MS. YOVANOVITCH: Uh-huh.

14 THE CHAIRMAN: That's not an operation that's unique to  
15 the Ukraine embassy, is it? This is something that almost  
16 every embassy of any size around the world would engage in,  
17 and that is, monitoring the press to see what issues are  
18 Ukrainians talking about, what are other people talking  
19 about, what rumors may be going viral, what issues are coming  
20 up? That's something every embassy does, is it not?

21 MS. YOVANOVITCH: It is. And every embassy has to do it  
22 to be current.

23 THE CHAIRMAN: You were also asked by my colleagues  
24 whether everyone in the State Department acted in the best  
25 interests of the Department, or something along those lines.

1           We now know from text messages that have been produced  
2       that there was an effort to condition that sought-after  
3       meeting between President Zelensky and President Trump with  
4       getting a deliverable from Ukraine, and that deliverable was:  
5       We want Ukraine to investigate the Bidens and we want Ukraine  
6       to investigate 2016.

7           MS. YOVANOVITCH: Uh-huh.

8           THE CHAIRMAN: I think you've said that it was not in  
9       the interests of Ukraine to be pulled into the next  
10      Presidential election. Is that right?

11          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yes.

12          THE CHAIRMAN: So an effort to condition a meeting that  
13       Ukraine desperately wanted and it was Ukraine's best  
14       interests on sucking them into the 2020 election would not  
15       have been good policy or conduct by the State Department?

16          MS. YOVANOVITCH: It was certainly not good policy,  
17       especially since, as I understand those texts and what  
18       occurred, is that this was not a foreign policy goal,  
19       something that is in the interests of all of us, a public  
20       good, but it was kind of a partisan game.

21          THE CHAIRMAN: It was in the interest of a political  
22       goal?

23          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Uh-huh.

24          THE CHAIRMAN: And that is to help the Presidential  
25       campaign in -- I'm sorry. You have to answer "yes" or "no."

1           MS. YOVANOVITCH: I think -- I think the answer was  
2 "yes."

3           THE CHAIRMAN: And the goal was a political one to  
4 assist the President's campaign in 2020 through these two  
5 investigations?

6           MS. YOVANOVITCH: That's how I understand, you know,  
7 what is in the media and what was in the texts.

8           THE CHAIRMAN: And if it would not be appropriate to  
9 condition a sought-after meeting with the White House on  
10 these political investigations, I assume you would also --  
11 you would also share the view that it would be even more  
12 damaging to condition vital military support on these two  
13 political investigations?

14          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yes.

15          THE CHAIRMAN: I have just a couple more questions, and  
16 if these repeat anything, I apologize, so just tell me I  
17 already went there and I won't bother it.

18          Were you aware that Kurt Volker introduced Andrey  
19 Yermak, one of President Zelensky's senior advisers, to  
20 Mr. Giuliani?

21          MS. YOVANOVITCH: I'm aware of that because of the media  
22 reports of that.

23          THE CHAIRMAN: But that took place after you had left?

24          MS. YOVANOVITCH: After I departed.

25          THE CHAIRMAN: Okay. In the call record, the President,

1       after President Zelensky talks about the need for more  
2       Javelins, our President says that he would like to ask a  
3       favor, though.

4           How would the President of Ukraine take a request from a  
5       U.S. President for a favor?

6           MS. YOVANOVITCH: I think, as we stated before, or as we  
7       discussed before, we are the single most important partner  
8       for Ukraine. And so I think a Ukrainian President would try,  
9       if at all possible, to do whatever an American President  
10      requested.

11          THE CHAIRMAN: Did anyone from the Trump administration  
12       or anyone acting on its behalf encourage the Ukrainian  
13       government or law enforcement officials not to cooperate with  
14       the investigation of Special Counsel Mueller?

15          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Not to my knowledge. I'm not aware of  
16       that.

17          THE CHAIRMAN: And do you know whether Mr. Giuliani  
18       played any role in that?

19          MS. YOVANOVITCH: I'm unaware.

20          THE CHAIRMAN: After President Zelensky in the call  
21       record says, "The former ambassador from the United States,  
22       the woman, was bad news and the people she was dealing with  
23       in Ukraine were bad news, so I just wanted to let you know  
24       that" -- I'm sorry, that's President Trump speaking -- the  
25       President thereafter, referring to you, says, "Well, she is

1           going to go through some things."

2           MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yes.

3           THE CHAIRMAN: What did you -- what was your reaction  
4       when you saw the President had said that to his Ukrainian  
5       counterpart, that you were going to go through some things?

6           MS. YOVANOVITCH: I was shocked. I was shocked and I  
7       was -- I was shocked and I was apprehensive about what that  
8       meant.

9           THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Malinowski.

10          MR. MALINOWSKI: Thank you. Just one question.

11          You mentioned, Ambassador, that Ambassador Sondland at  
12       one point had advised you to, quote, "go big or go home," and  
13       "go big" meant putting out a tweet or public statement saying  
14       that, I think you mentioned, that you supported President  
15       Trump and rejected all of these false accusations. Did he --

16          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Something like that.

17          MR. MALINOWSKI: Did he actually say, "support President  
18       Trump"? Was that his advice, that you publicly say something  
19       to that effect?

20          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yes. I mean, he may not have used the  
21       words "support President Trump," but he said: You know the  
22       President. Well, maybe you don't know him personally, but  
23       you know, you know, the sorts of things that he likes. You  
24       know, go out there battling aggressively and, you know,  
25       praise him or support him.

1           MR. MALINOWSKI: Is that a normal request from a  
2 political appointee to a career ambassador, in your  
3 experience?

4           MS. YOVANOVITCH: He said that in response to my request  
5 for advice on, How do I deal with this? I've never seen  
6 anything like this. I don't know what to do. And that was  
7 his response.

8           So, I mean, I have to admit that the advice took me  
9 aback, but I did ask him.

10          MR. MALINOWSKI: Okay.

11          Finally, I would say to all of my colleagues on both  
12 sides that I would be honored if you followed me on Twitter,  
13 and I will not accuse you of monitoring me. My handle is  
14 @malinowski.

15          MR. MEADOWS: How do you spell that one?

16          MR. MALINOWSKI: It's hard. Almost as hard as  
17 Yovanovitch.

18          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Exactly. Thank you.

19          THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Goldman.

20          MR. GOLDMAN: Thank you. Just a few last things.

21          You ultimately --

22          THE CHAIRMAN: I thought your handle was @pecan.

23           BY MR. GOLDMAN:

24          Q        You left Ukraine for good May 20th. Is that right?

25          A        That's correct.

1 Q And that was the day of Zelensky's inauguration?

2 A Coincidentally, yes.

3 Q Were you aware at all of the formation of the U.S.  
4 delegation to the inauguration in Ukraine?

5 A Not really. I mean, I was, you know, so busy,  
6 frankly, packing out and everything. I had heard that  
7 Ambassador Sondland was on the delegation, for example. But,  
8 I mean, I wasn't following. I mean, I was super busy trying  
9 to sort of pull everything together and leave Ukraine.

10 Q So you were not really engaged in the prep for the  
11 inauguration --

12 A No.

13 Q -- in any way?

14 A Huh-uh.

15 Q Who led that?

16 A I think -- yeah. I think at that time, Joseph  
17 Pennington was charge.

18 Q Were you aware of a Bloomberg article on May 14th,  
19 so it would have been 6 days before you left, where Lutsenko  
20 stated that he had, quote, no evidence of wrongdoing,  
21 unquote, by either of the Bidens?

22 A Yes. I recall that.

23 Q You mentioned earlier Naftogaz.

24 A Yes.

25 Q What is Naftogaz?

1           A     It is the gas monopoly that is owned by the  
2     Government of Ukraine.

3           Q     Has it had some corruption issues in the past, to  
4     your knowledge?

5           A     It has. You know, it's really cleaned up its act.  
6     I mean, we consider it to be one of the success stories in  
7     Ukraine. But that doesn't mean it's done. I mean, there's  
8     still issues going forward.

9           Q     Did the act cleaning up occur in conjunction with  
10    the fact that they added a supervisory board to the company?

11          A     I think that was important. I think the most  
12    important thing, though, was actually the head of Naftogaz, a  
13    guy by the name of Andrei Kobalyev, who is, you know, as  
14    clean as they come, and was fearless and determined to sort  
15    of shake everything up and really made some amazing steps  
16    forward, I mean, from a country that was getting the vast  
17    majority, something like 93 percent, of its gas from Russia  
18    to importing zero from Russia.

19          So, I mean, if you think about that from a security  
20    standpoint, huge steps forward.

21          Q     , Right. Do you know when they added a supervisory  
22    board?

23          A     I want to say, like, 2017.

24          Q     And would that be somewhat similar to Burisma's  
25    board that we were talking about earlier, same concept?

1           A     Well, I don't exactly know what the, you know, the  
2        duties of the board for Burisma are or how they select  
3        their members, et cetera. But I suppose in principle it's  
4        kind of similar.

5           Q     In principle in the sense that both boards include  
6        international individuals, right, non-Ukrainians? Is that  
7        your understanding?

8           A     Yeah. Yeah. And I assume that both boards, you  
9        know, do traditionally what boards do, set direction and so  
10      forth.

11          Q     Are you aware of any efforts this past year by  
12        Secretary Rick Perry of the Department of Energy to change  
13        some of the members on the Naftogaz board?

14          A     I read about that in the media.

15          Q     But were you aware of that while you were at post?

16          A     No. This happened after -- according to the media,  
17        this was happening after I left.

18          Q     And you didn't hear from any of your Department of  
19        State colleagues about this?

20          A     No.

21          Q     Did you ever hear about a March 2019 meeting in  
22        Houston between Parnas, Fruman, and a senior Naftogaz  
23        executive, Andrei Favorov?

24          A     Yeah. That was in the open letter that I  
25        referenced many hours ago.

1 Q The Dale Perry open letter?

2 A That's right. That's where I heard of that.

3 Q And what did you understand occurred in that  
4 Houston meeting?

5 A Well, you know, all I understood was what was --  
6 what was said in that article. I have no way -- or open  
7 letter -- I have no way of knowing whether it's true or not,  
8 but that Mr. Parnas and Mr. Fruman wanted Mr. Favorov to take  
9 over and become the head of Naftogaz.

10 Q Why?

11 A I don't know, but I assume that they thought that  
12 that would be in their best interests.

13 Q Did you ask anyone at your embassy to follow up on  
14 this Dale Perry open letter, look into this?

15 A This was at the -- I want to say it was at the end  
16 of April, and I had a lot of other things going on then.

17 Q Okay. There's a new prosecutor general now,  
18 correct?

19 A Yes.

20 Q It's absolutely no chance I'm going to be able to  
21 pronounce the name. So am I correct that he was appointed  
22 August 29th?

23 A That sounds right.

24 Q Okay. Are you familiar with him from before his  
25 appointment?

1           A    I've met him a couple of times.

2           Q    What do you know of him by reputation or otherwise?

3           A    By reputation, I think we think that he's clean and  
4         he's a reformer. He spent the last couple of years -- the  
5         reason I don't really know him well or better is that he --  
6         his wife has a job somewhere in Europe. And so he was living  
7         in Europe but came back to help President Zelensky with his  
8         campaign, and so I met him in that context.

9           Q    And could you just say his name for the record and  
10        spell it, if you could?

11          A    Is it Ryboshapka?

12          Q    Sounds right. I'm not going to debate you.

13          A    Spell it? R-y-a-b -- no. Sorry. Yeah.

14          Q    Yeah. I think they have --

15          A    So this is what I would do: R-y-b-o-s-h-a-p-k-a.

16          Q    Okay. And you'll recall in that July 25th call  
17         between President Trump and Zelensky that President Zelensky  
18         said that the next prosecutor general was 100 percent going  
19         to be his guy. Is this person 100 percent his guy, as far as  
20         you know?

21          A    Well, he came back from Europe to help him run the  
22         election campaign and now he's in the administration. I  
23         mean, when he was on the campaign he was saying that he was  
24         going to go back to Europe, but evidently not.

25          Q    Okay. Two more questions.

1           Are you aware of whether any other U.S. officials  
2        pressed any Ukrainian officials to investigate Joe Biden or  
3        the 2016 election, perhaps outside of the State Department?

4           A     No.

5           Q     And my last question for you is that you testified  
6        in response to some of Mr. Malinowski's questions about sort  
7        of parallel policies in Ukraine. One was the official U.S.  
8        policy of the State Department that you were promoting and  
9        one was the shadow Giuliani-Trump policy.

10          Now, looking back with the benefit of hindsight, can you  
11        describe how these two policies were proceeding on parallel  
12        tracks and what the impact was? Can you kind of summarize  
13        for us?

14          A     Well, I mean, for one thing, it was -- although we  
15        really tried to keep our eye on the ball at the embassy,  
16        because, again, it was a challenging time, there was an  
17        election campaign, an election for president, and we needed  
18        to know what was happening and we needed to manage that and  
19        manage the relationship and whatever the future of the  
20        relationship would be. So it was distracting in many ways.

21          But the other thing is, because there were -- there was,  
22        you know, the press interview and then all of the other  
23        subsequent articles, social media postings, et cetera,  
24        Ukrainians were wondering whether I was going to be leaving,  
25        whether we really represented the President, U.S. policy,

1       et cetera. And so I think it was -- you know, it really kind  
2       of cut the ground out from underneath us.

3            MR. GOLDMAN: I yield back.

4            MR. MEADOWS: Mr. Chairman, before you close it out, I  
5       think we had 4 minutes left, and I want to follow up on one  
6       thing that you had --

7            THE CHAIRMAN: Please.

8            MR. ZELDIN: We had more than 4 minutes.

9            MR. MEADOWS: Okay. Okay.

10          THE CHAIRMAN: Go ahead.

11          MR. MEADOWS: All right. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

12          Ambassador, there's been, and Chairman Schiff kind of  
13       alluded to this, and when we start talking about Javelins and  
14       foreign aid, for the record, I want to make sure that we're  
15       clear. The foreign aid that was -- has been reported as  
16       being held up, it doesn't relate to Javelins, does it?

17          MS. YOVANOVITCH: No. At least I'm not aware that it  
18       does.

19          MR. MEADOWS: Because foreign military sales, or FMS, as  
20       you would call it, is really a totally separate track, is it  
21       not? Foreign military sales get approved, but they're  
22       actually a purchase that happens with, in this case, it would  
23       have been Ukraine. Is that correct?

24          MS. YOVANOVITCH: So, yes. President Zelensky was  
25       talking about a purchase. But separately, as I understand

1       it, and, again, this is from news accounts, the security  
2       assistance that was being held up was security assistance, it  
3       wasn't the FMS.

4            MR. MEADOWS: But it was actually aid that had been  
5       appropriated and it had nothing to do with Javelins. Would  
6       you agree with that?

7            MS. YOVANOVITCH: That's my understanding.

8            MR. MEADOWS: Yeah. Because it's critically important  
9       in his context when he says, "We're almost ready for the  
10      Javelins," that happens on cycles that are not necessarily  
11      just appropriation cycles.

12         In your history as a foreign service diplomat, you've  
13       seen that, I assume, over and over again. Is that correct?

14         MS. YOVANOVITCH: Yeah. I assumed that what it meant is  
15       that, you know, they were getting paperwork together,  
16       et cetera, and working with our military colleagues.

17         MR. MEADOWS: And when the aid ultimately came through,  
18       it didn't impact the purchase of those Javelins even when the  
19       aid ultimately was approved. Would you agree?

20         MS. YOVANOVITCH: Not to my -- not to my knowledge.

21         MR. MEADOWS: Right.

22         MR. ZELDIN: In response to one of the chairman's  
23       questions related to aid from the United States to Ukraine  
24       and investigations, you responded that that was not a good  
25       policy. What policy were you referring to when you said it

1       was not a good policy?

2           MS. YOVANOVITCH: So I don't remember exactly what I  
3       said, but --

4           MR. ZELDIN: If you want, I could rephrase the question  
5       in a way that might make it easier for you to respond without  
6       even reflecting on the question and answer.

7           MS. YOVANOVITCH: Okay. Please.

8           MR. ZELDIN: Are you aware of a policy where aid from  
9       the United States to Ukraine was linked to investigating the  
10      Bidens?

11          MS. YOVANOVITCH: No, I am not. An official policy.  
12          There's no official policy.

13          MR. ZELDIN: Are you aware of an unofficial policy?

14          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Well, I mean, reading the texts and so  
15       forth, it made me wonder whether there was an unofficial  
16       policy.

17          MR. ZELDIN: Now, Ambassador Volker's testimony when he  
18       was here, he was testifying that Bill Taylor's text was as a  
19       follow-up to a Politico story that he had read that he was  
20       concerned about.

21          The texts that you reference also include responses to  
22       Ambassador Taylor where it says, the President has been  
23       absolutely crystal clear there's no quid pro quo.

24          So with regards to the texts, are you talking about some  
25       of the texts or all of the texts in saying that there was an

1           unofficial policy?

2           MS. YOVANOVITCH: I think that I probably should decline  
3           to answer that question, because I was not in the policy  
4           world at that point.

5           MR. ZELDIN: That's a fantastic answer, and I'm glad  
6           you're giving that answer, because I wouldn't say that there  
7           would be an unofficial policy without having all of your  
8           information to be able to say there actually was an  
9           unofficial policy.

10          So I think that -- I would have no further questions  
11          based off of that answer to the last question.

12          THE CHAIRMAN: Ambassador, we want to thank you very  
13          much for a very long day, and we want to thank you very much  
14          for a very long and distinguished career.

15          And we are adjourned.

16          MS. YOVANOVITCH: Thank you.

17          [Whereupon, at 7:31 p.m., the interview was concluded.]

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